The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,] We are verily guilty concerning our brother * * * therefore, is this distress come upon us. [EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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Slave-Holder's Department.

A SPEECH,

On the subject of Slavery, delivered 7th September, 1835, at a public meeting of the citizens of Barnwell District, South Carolina. By EDMUND BELLINGER. Jr.

"Enforced by Necessity—Sanctioned by Religion—and Justified by Law."

Published by request.

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Concluded.

Sanctioned by religion.

It is here the abolitionists seem to triumph with an air of the greatest exultation. With the Bible in one hand, and an incendiary tract in the other, they go roaring through the land, invoking the blessings of heaven on their schemes, and imprecating vengeance on their guilty heads.

A slight examination on the subject will show that the abolitionist who thus makes an exhibition of his charity, is *as ignorant of the Scriptures and regardless of religion*, as he is blind to the *condition and circumstances of our slaves.*

I need not dwell on particular passages in Scripture, though it is remarkable that the Jews were permitted to enslave *their own children*, provided they did not sell them to foreigners; (1) see Exod. xxi. v. 7, Nehemiah v. 5, that the slave is mentioned in the Bible as the *absolute property* of the master, because "he is his money;" (2) see Exod. xii. 44, and xxi. 21; and that the ten commandments, two of them (the 4th and 10th) recognise and indirectly sanction slavery; see Exodus xx. 10, 17.

Nor need I contend (as might be fully proved by plain quotations from Scripture,)—

1st. That the venerable Patriarchs were *slaveholders* in every sense of the word; see Genesis xvii. 15, 24, 27. Genesis xx. 14, xxx. 43. In particular, Abraham (the founder of the Jewish race and beloved servant of God) must have been the master of nearly a *thousand* slaves, since on one occasion; see Genesis xiv. 14, he led to the field of battle upwards of 300 (3) fighting men—*slaves born in his own household.*

2nd. That the original curse of filial disobedience is being fulfilled in slavery, Genesis ix. 24, 7. (4)

3d. That under the Jewish theocracy, men were *born slaves.* (5) Genesis xiv. 14, xv. 3, xvii. 23, Jeremiah ii. 14, Psalms lxxxvi. 16, xvi. 16.

4th. That under the Jewish theocracy men were bought aud sold as slaves; Exodus xxi. 2, 6, Leviticus xxv. 44, Genesis xvii. 23.

5th. That under the Jewish theocracy, captives in war were reduced to slavery, Josh. ix. 27, Deut. xx. 14, xxi. 10, 11.

6th. That under the Jewish theocracy, a thief was sold when he could not pay his fine; see Exodus xxii. 3.

That individuals sold themselves through poverty; (6) see Lev. xxv. 39, 47, and that creditors were allowed to seize insolvent debtors, and sell them and their children; see Lev. xxv. 41, 2d Kings iv. 1, Matt. xviii. 25.

7th. That the system of slavery under the Jewish theocracy, was absolute and perpetual; (7) Lev. xxv. 44, 1 Sam. xxv. and in many other respects, (such as marriage, testimony, and the condition of the offspring) similar to our own; (8) Exod. xxi. 4. &c.

8th. Or that God so far from having expressed his disapprobation, sanctioned the system, and repeatedly provided for its regulation; (9) see Exod. xxi. Lev. xxv. Deut. xvi. Jer. xxxiv. 8, 9.

It is enough for my purpose that slavery did exist—was recognised and established under the Jewish theocracy. If any one will still insist that we, upon whom the system of slavery was forced, and who are constrained by necessity (10) to continue the system, deserve the maledictions of that Deity, under whose blessings a system of slavery was originated, he is guilty either of contradicting the history of Holy Writ, or of blaspheming against God.

NOTES.

(1.) It is wise in the orator not to quote the texts to which he refers. For instance, Exodus xxi. 7, reads, "and if a man sell his daughter to be a maid servant, *she shall not go out as the men servants do*"! "And in the next verse we read, "If she please not her master *who hath betrothed her to himself*," &c. What a text to justify selling women under the hammer for purposes of agriculture!

(2.) This proves that the Hebrew paid money for his servant, and hence the presumption that in striking him he did not intend to kill him; but it does not prove that he bought the servant without the servant's own consent, nor that he could sell him without his consent, therefore it does not prove that he was his "*absolute property.*" On the other hand, the 26th and 27th verses of the same chapter, prove that the servant was "not absolute property," for if the master destroyed an *eye* or a *tooth* of the servant, he was for that reason to let him go FREE. Who ever heard of setting a piece of "absolute property" free for such a cause? Is it done at the south?

(3.) How happens it that modern slaveholders never lead out their slaves on military expeditions, except after giving or promising them freedom? Southern slaveholders will not allow their slaves to have arms—Abraham "trained" his.

(4.) The murderers of our Lord fulfilled prophecies—Were they innocent?

(5.) But at any period after their birth, if they could make their escape, there was very little danger of their being brought back, Deut. xxiii. 15. Oh that the slaves of this land and age were born to *such* slavery!

(6.) This is worthy of remark. Slavery under the "Jewish theocracy" was such an institution that men *sold themselves* into it; but American slavery is such, that we never heard of an instance of a mans' selling himself into it. How could he? Whatever he might receive for himself would after all be his master's! The American slave can "possess nothing which is not his master's" says the law of Louisiana. The very fact that men *sold themselves*, is, to common sense, plain proof, that under the "Jewish theocracy" it was not so.

(7.) And so was its *abolition* perpetual, occurring every fifty years, Lev. xxv. 10.

(8.) An impudent libel on God's word! Where does the Mosaic law permit the separation of families, or refuse to the servant his testimony?

(9.) All American slavery is founded on the stealing of men from Africa. Did God sanction that? See Ex. xxi. 16. In this whole argument the orator stabs at the Bible. No man who knows what American slavery is, can retain any practical regard for the Bible after it has been proved that it sanctions *such* a system of slavery. But blessed be God, no man has yet proved it, and we have no fears that any one ever will.

Turning to the New Testament, I find passage after passage enjoining the most implicit obedience, see Luke vii. 8, Ephe. vi. 5, 9, Col. iii. 22, 25, iv. 1, Titus ii. 9, 1st Tim. vi. i. i. 2, 1st Peter ii. 18, 19, 20, Philemon. And nowhere in the Bible from the commencement of the first verse in Genesis to the last verse in Revelations—do I find the system condemned. (11) But if any doubt remain on our minds, behold the example of Christ; He found existing the system of slavery handed down from the *original establishment* of the Jewish government. He found existing (under the Roman government) a system of slavery the most grinding and galling—under which the master, (sometimes the owner of no less than 4000 slaves) had the power of life and death—under which the slave was not permitted to testify, save under torture—under which the luxurious Roman, threw his offending menial into his pond to fatten his fish—under which, if a master was killed, his slaves, (in the absence of proof) were put to death without mercy or discrimination! (12) What was the conduct of our Saviour while on earth, and of his Apostles after him? He did not make inflammatory addresses, or circulate incendiary papers! (13) He did not denounce the system even of Jewish slavery! He did not endeavor to excite sedition and revolt! He did not convert the contented bondsman into a dark and desperate rebel! He did not attempt to turn loose one half of mankind upon the other! (14) He did not point to the end of his schemes "equal rights," and "universal emancipation!" No! Other and different were the purposes of his holy mission, and in another and in a different way were those purposes fulfilled! He came to enlighten, to purify, and to redeem! If the system of slavery was noticed, it was to enjoin the performance of their duties on master and slave! He pointed to "a better world and led the way." His language and his acts were directed to that "glorious consummation," when "corruption should become incorruptible"—when "the mortal should put on immortality"—when "he who suffered in Gethsemane's garden" and died on Calvary's mount, should speak to captivity, freedom! and call his exiles home! (15)

Then let those who flatter themselves that Scripture authorises on their part an *impudent* and *mischievous* interference in our domestic policy—let them look to the example of our Saviour! Let them "go and do likewise."

But I fear such an appeal is in vain, made to men over whom, ignorance and fanaticism, exercise their baleful influence!

They are more deaf than the adder. Their hearts are harder than the nether millstone.

From such men I turn to "Christians at home." I select *the most scrupulous, the most pious and the most venerable* minister of the gospel, and I say to him: "Servant of God, and pastor of your flock—you behold the system of slavery as it exists in your country! you behold how it forms a part of our social and political existence—you behold the slave, comfortable, contented and happy—you behold the master, kind and humane—you behold that country, prosperous and flourishing! you understand the necessity by which that system is enforced! (16) you know the direful consequences which a change must produce both to master and slave! you are conversant with Holy Writ! you know and you practice the precepts of religion! you have before you the example of our blessed Redeemer! What judgment do *you* declare, and what course will *you* persue? will you not repeat the injunctions of obedience which the holy Book contains? Will you not infuse into the bosom of both master and slave, the spirit of true piety? Will you not lend the influence of your voice and conduct, to preserve and continue a system on which depends the welfare and perhaps the existence of your country? Will you not imitate in this manner the example of Christ and his Apostles? Or will you declare that the Bible condemns and denounces slavery? Will you act consistantly with that declaration? Will you endeavor to overthrow that system? Will you become the *agent* and the *fool of the northern fanatic and western pirate?* In the name of Jesus, and the cause of holy religion, will you—Oh, can you scatter throughout this community and this country, "fire-brands, arrows and death?" I trust, I know that you will not! If any minister should be deaf to this appeal, then I envy neither his *feelings* nor his *faith!* I would recommend to him to trust his salvation on surer grounds! Certain I am, that the less he reduces his piety to practice, it would be well for the gospel of Christ and better for himself."

I have thus far, Mr. Chairman, argued this matter as though it came within the legitimate jurisdiction of the church, and was to be decided on Scripture grounds. I have done so because I was anxious to satisfy the doubts of all among us, and to show myself ready to meet the attacks of our opponents at any and every point. But in my humble judgment, the Bible has nothing to do with the decision of this question. (17)

NOTES.

(10.) Admirable! What stiff-necked and rebellious sinners "our southern brethren" must be! After having proved that slavery is a *divine institution*, approved and sanctioned by Jehovah himself, that they themselves are but fulfilling the command of God, in punishing the Africans for their "filial disobedience," and that the slaves are far better off than if they were free; here they confess that slavery was "FORCED upon them," and that they continue it only because constrained by NECESSITY! How, we ask, are they better than the wicked abolitionists, if they support a divine institutoin and obey the divine command only because they are obliged to?

(11.) "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Behold the HIRE OF THE LABORERS who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth," &c. James v. 1—6. Probably Mr. Bellinger missed this, and some other passages. Southern clergymen, we presume, seldom preach from it.

(12.) And all this he condemned in terms both intelligible and comprehensive. See his sermon on the Mount. He treated slavery just as he did the murderous games and foul idolatries of the Romans.

(13.) The scribes and pharisees thought differently of his address recorded in the 23d chapter of Matthew. Peter, Stephen and Paul, were certainly treated as incendiaries. Never did men produce more fearful agitation.

(14.) Nor would we. Slavery has done it. Slavery has turned one part of society loose from law, humanity, religion and conscience, to prey opon the vitals of another part. We would turn that part loose *from* not *upon* the other.

(15.) But why "speak to captivity, freedom?" If slavery is good on earth, why not in heaven?

(16.) The *necessity* by which a sytem of *happiness and contentment* is ENFORCED!

(17.) How then did it just now "sanction" it? was that an "impertinent interference?"

All history shows, that when the Scriptures are applied as an arbiter to the subject of civil institutions, they become an instrument of cruelty and mischief. True it is, religion exercises, and very properly exercises, an influence over all the objects of temporal life. True also it is, that the Bible furnishes the most excellent rules for regulating the conduct of both master and slave. But it does appear evident to me, that the Scriptures have no more bearing on the guilt or innocence of slavery in South Carolina, than they have on the guilt or innocence of war, or on the defects and excellencies of the various forms of government. It does appear evident to me, that the Christian who undertakes to condemn or defend slavery by garbled and mutilated passages from Scripture, (and possibly such may be found,) would act as wisely as the general who would besiege a city after the manner of Joshua before the walls of Jerico; as the people who would choose their governor by lot; as the carpenter who would frame his building according to the dimensions of Noah's ark; as the plaintiff who would claim a cloak on the authority of Matthew, v. 40; or to come to matters of fact, as the judge who cited Scripture on trial for witchcraft.

If, however, the Scriptures are to decide this controversy, I think I have shown that *we* need not dread the investigation! And further,—there are passages, which might be considered peculiarly applicable.

Thus I read, "thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."—Exodus xx. 16. I read, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's servant."—Exodus, xx. 17. I read of those who can see "a mote in their brother's eye more readily than a beam in their own."—Matt. vii. 3, 4. I read of those who "use their liberty" for a cloak of maliciousness. 1 Pet. xi. 16. I read of those who promise liberty, while they themselves are the servants of corruption.—2 Pet. xi. 19. I read of one Barrabas, who was put in jail for *sedition.*—Luke xxiii. 25. He escaped, though his imitators in modern times seem likely to receive more *meritorious* treatment. If those who keep such a *mouthing* about Scripture and slavery, can digest these passages to their satisfaction, they may read farther and fare worse. In any aspect of the case, I feel assured that religion *sanctions* the course which we persue, and that with confidence may *we* invoke the blessings of Providence in aid of our course.

Justified by law.

Driven from the Bible, the fanatic resorts to law, and plumes himself on the position *that slavery is illegal—contrary to the principles of natural justice.* This position, thus broadly announced, I *distinctly* and *confidently* deny.

It is somewhat remarkable that "almost every page of ancient history demonstrrtes the great multitude of slaves; which gives rise to the melancholy reflection that the world has been best peopled when not a world of freemen, but of slaves;" and that if a system of slavery is contrary to natural law, nature has in all ages and in all countries been so slow in vindicating her principles. (18)

But I meet the position fully. I contend that according to the law of nature and of nations, slavery may arise.

1st. From war.

2d. From the state of property and feebleness of government.

3d. From bargain and sale.

4th. From debt.

5th. From the consent of parties. (19)

6th. From crime.

7th. Where from physical, intellectual and moral causes, the party is *incapable of enjoying freedom.*

That this matter is not to be decided on abstract principles of justice and liberty; but must be viewed in relation to the social condition of man, and the *circumstances* under which the system in question originated and exists.

In particular, I contend that government and laws are established for the greatest good of the greatest number—that to the southern slave, food, clothing any protection, are *ample equivalents* for the loss of freedom—that liberty is to be considered as a practical good, and that where from *natural* and *permanent* causes, liberty could not be enjoyed, *slavery is a blessing*—that this is a case in which the question of *right* is resolved into a question of *expediency*; and no man, unless he is blind to fact, but must know that the voice which would proclaim freedom to our slaves, would proclaim the loss of comfort and happiness to *them*—of liberty and life to *us.*

I contend further, that our system of slavery is justified on the same grounds (to wit, the progress of civilization, and the unquestionable laws of necessity,) as the exclusion of the Aborigines of the country from their possessions.

"It arose from the necessity of the case."

"Their (the Indians) title has been obliged to yield to the combined influence which military, intellectual and moral power gave to the claim of the European emigrant."

"To leave the Indian in possession of the country, was to leave the country a wilderness, and to govern them as a distinct people, or to mix with them, and admit them to an inter-community of privileges, *was impossible* under the circumstances of their relative condition. *The peculiar character and habits* of the Indian nations rendered them incapable of sustaining any other relation with the whites than that of *dependence* and *pupilage.*

There was no other way of dealing with them, than that of keeping them separate, subordinate and dependent, *with a guardian care thrown round them for protection.*"

"The weak and helpless condition in which we found the Indians, and the immeasurable superiority of their civilized neighbors, would not admit of the application of any more liberal and equal doctrine."

"It was founded on the pretention of converting the discovery of the country into a conquest, *and it is now too late to draw into discretion the validity of that pretention or the restriction which it imposes.*

"It is the law of the land, and no court of Justice can permit the right to be disturbed *by speculative reasoning on the abstract rights.*"

See 3d Kent's Commentaries, p. 380.

When therefore, the "descendants of the pilgrims" can show a legal title to their *land*—when they can "clear their skirts" of the blood of the Indian—when they shall show cause why the original occupants should not be restored to their possessions, then, and not till then, can they call on us to show a legal title to our *slaves*, or to show cause why we are resolved to continue the system of slavery.

That they should undertake to lecture us into moral duties, or to a course against our institutions, *is an instance of pharisaical pretension, hitherto without example, and I trust, for the future, without imitation.* Nor is such a course of conduct on the part of some of the people of our sister States the less remarkable, when it is considered that our peculiar rights and interests are guarantied and secured in the most express, and solemn, and binding form, by the *constitution* of our common country! This is a topic so plain and *palpable*, that I will not stop to argue it.

NOTES.

(18.) If "nature is so slow in vindicating her principles," why do slaveholders sleep upon their pistols? Ah! they fear nature!

(19.) A cause from which American slavery never arose and never will.

I will not dwell on that part of the articles of the confederation [Art. 2] and the constitution of the United States [Amend. Art. 19,] which secured to the States the rights and power not granted.

I will not dwell on that part of the constitution which recognised and permitted even the slave-trade, for a certain term of years. Art. 1. sec. 9, cl. 1. (20)

I will not dwell on that part of the constitution which declares that our slaves, flying into another State, shall be given up, on demand. Art 4. sec. 2, cl. 3.

I will not dwell on that part of the constitution which provides that the Federal Government shall protect us against domestic violence—*if we should ask their protection.*—Art. 4, sec. 4.

I will not dwell on that part of the Constitution which *distinctly* and *expressly* recognises slavery as constituting one of the component parts of representation.—Art. 4, sec. cl. 3.

I will not dwell upon the fact, that our system of slavery was known to the other members of the confederacy *when* the Union was formed.

I will not dwell upon the fact, that it was well known and thoroughly understood by all parties concerned, that *we* never would have adopted the Federal Constitution had not a guarantee been given to secure our peculiar rights.

I will not dwell upon the fact, that when the non-slaveholding States formed a union with us, whose peculiar rights they *guarantied*, they recognised the existence and *admitted the legality of slavery.*

I will not dwell upon the fact that in 1719, a committee in Congress (composed entirely of northern men) reported a resolution, (unanimously adopted) *that Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States.*

I will not dwell upon the argument, that our rights in this matter are *paramount* to the constitution of the United States, and that no alteration or amendment of the constitution can affect those rights.

I say I will not dwell on this topic, because I cannot believe that our rights, under and above the constitution of the United States, can or will be questioned: and because *if* they are questioned, *the case admits not of wordy debate.*

We will read our charter *with the bayonet for a pointer; blows will be the argument, and blood the illustration!*

There is, however, one argument derived by the fanatics from the Declaration of Independence, and to which I will give a passing notice.

It is said that our Declaration of Independence proclaims *all men to be equal, &c.*

This seems to be a *favorite* argument, for it was introduced with much *formal gravity* at a late anti-slavery meeting in London, accompanied with the remark "that we (the southern planters) had forfeited all title to take a place in the same grade of society as the people of England." Truly our English friends have forgotten upon whose heads rests the guilt of the slave trade; or whom that same Declaration of Independence charges with exciting domestic insurrection. They have equally forgotten their own local institutions: they have equally forgotten certain passages in the revolution and the late war. It is not the first time, however, that they have *turned their backs upon us!*

If there was any thing in the argument, the non-slaveholding States would have to explain certain of *their* laws which declare that some men, (their colored population,) are *not* equal to others! If there was any thing in the argument, those who advance it will find it necessary to *reconcile* their argument with the *constitution* of the United States, which recognises slavery. But the argument is *ineffably rediculous. The dirtiest chicken theif—the most atrocious murderer*, might use it with *equal* reason! Even the king of the abolitionists, if placed in the dock before us, which he doubtless would *honor* as much as Allen Pace, or any other of the many worthy personages who have "put themselves upon the country; even *he*, when arraigned for seditious practices" under our A. A., 1805 or 1832, might contend *that all men were born free and equal;* and that the court had no authority to interfere with *his* inalienable rights to life, liberty and the persuit of happiness. And doubtless he would take further exceptions, on the ground of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." I presume, however, that his defense would scarcely avail him, either under the general issue or as a special plea! He would not be the first graceless defendant, whose construction of the law "had the advantages of his life."

We know the meaning of the Declaration of Independence. We know the meaning of the constitution of the United States, *we know how to support the construction.*

But however weak and untenable may be deemed my argument, as founded on the principles of natural and national law, and the constitution of our common country, I turn with the *utmost confidence* to the laws of our State, (21) laws obligatory on her citizens, and not to be *revised* or *questioned* by the people or authority of another State. It is not my intention, and it would be out of place to enter into any learned disquisition about the sovereignty of the State; nor will I venture into that "Serbonian bog in which so many have floundered, and of which" so few have escaped.

It being admitted and undeniable, that the constitution of the United States has in no respect impaired (but in many confirmed) our right in this matter, neither the Federal Government, nor the government, nor the people of any other State or country, can interfere with our domestic policy, and peculiar institutions, without violating, and *grossly violating* the most plain principles of international law—principles too clearly settled to need it. "This results (*the constitution of the United States containing nothing to the contrary,*) from the simple assumption and recognition of sovereignty. Those who assume it, claim the right to govern within their own boundaries *according to their own pleasure;* those who recognise it disclaim the right to interfere in the government of the country, whose sovereignty is recognised. The abstract right or wrong of what is done within the limits of sovereignty, is not a subject of practical consideration for those by whom that sovereignty is acknowledged.

"If Devonshire in England, Normandy in France, Dutchess in New-York, or Bucks in Pennsylvania, should complain of the oppression of their respective governments, it is sufficiently plain that their complaints could not be even formally examined by States who admitted the sovereignty of England and France, of New York and Pennsylvania. This is the general principle which regulates national society—it is well that such is the usage. Much wrong is doubtless done in the world; but far greater evils would ensue if governments, or people, like political Quixottes, taking the high road in quest of adventures, would couch a lance against every injustice, real or imaginary, that they encounter by the way. *Let the fanatic meditate on this,* remembering that the present dispute is not concerning the *intrinsic merit* of the policy (of South Carolina) towards (her colored population) (though as to justice and humanity of policy, we dread not investigation) but concerning the *right* of other powers to interfere between the parties."—*Oglethorpe.* (22)

NOTES.

(20.) The constitution guarantied the slave trade, just as it guaranties slavery—against legislation, but not against argument!

(21.) Here the orator certainly has the best of the argument. But there is an old book which says, "Though hand join in hand the wicked shall not go unpunished."

I say as to the justice and humanity of that policy, we dread not investigation. I do not allude to the principles of self-interest, of honor, of morality, and of religion, which have *hitherto* ensured, and must always ensure to our slaves, care and protection: I do not allude to the *actual condition* of our slaves as furnishing *palpable* proof of their good treatment: I allude to *laws* recorded in our Statute Book, and supported by the authority of the State—(23) imposing penalties on those who shall beat or disable a slave without cause, (Public Laws, page 195) forbidding them to be worked on the Sabbath, (P. L., p. 169) or for more than a certain number of hours during the day, (P. L. 174) compelling their owners to allow them proper and sufficient food and clothing, (P. L. p. 173.) In particular, the Statute which subjects heavy penalties on whomsoever kills a slave, (his own or that of another) in sudden passion, or by undue correction (P. L. 173. A. A. 1821, p. 12)—still more particular, by the Statute which prescribes for the wilful murder of a slave, the punishment *with death without benefit of clergy,* (P. L., 172, A. A, 1821, p. 12.) And as a practical commentary on the spirit of our laws on this subject, I might refer to Cheetwood's case, (Dec. Term, 1834, Columbia,) in which our Supreme Court, after elaborate argument and great deliberation, unanimously decided that under the A. A. 1821, the murder of a slave was to be adjudged in law *on the same principles* as the murder of *a free white citizen.* I might also illustrate the remark that although our Legislature have determined that our slaves shall be protected by the laws, and to leave unadopted no measures which could ensure their comfort and safety, yet such are the *principles* of our citizens, that the laws which I have enumerated are in fact *useless lumber.* I am certain that (save professional men) very few of our people ever heard of such laws. *In South Carolina slaves need no penalties for their protection—masters need no legislation to make them careful, kind and humane.* But enough—I speak with due advisement when I say that *our* laws and *our* conduct in relation to *our* slaves will not, to say the least, suffer by a comparison with the conduct and the laws of the citizens of any *non-slaveholding State* in relation to their colored population. (24) And be it remarked, that this defense is *entirely gratuitous.* Were our conduct and our laws the reverse of what they are, the *imprudence* and *guilt* of interference would not be *greater*, nor would our rights to repel that interference be *less.*

Nothing therefore remains for me on this topic, but to show the laws and policy of South Carolina. I pass over the A. A. 1820 p. 53 in relation to incendiary papers; and the A. A. 1805 p. 50, A. A. 1822, p. 13, in relation to seditious practices, remarking however, that (according to the best legal authorities) the penalties mentioned in these A. A. would be incurred by any individual who then being *without* the limits of the State, shall, through the agency of the mail or of others, commit the offences (specified) within the State; that these A. A. have in fact been grossly and imprudently violated. That although Art. iv. sec. 2, Cl. 2d, might be considered insufficient to meet the case, yet on the principles of international law, which of the constitution was not intended to abrogate,—see in point Anderson's case, 1st Hill's reports, 137, the Executive of the State would, on proper legal proceedings being instituted, be authorised to demand Arthur Tappan and his fellows in villainy, *as violaters of our laws*, and no doubt a salutary lesson would be taught, if a few of these impudent miscreants were brought before a jury of the country to answer for their crimes—to meet face to face a people whose rights they have attacked, and whose feelings they have outraged by their base and nefarious conduct. But I pass on to considerations of a higher import. Previous to the year 1740, our citizens held this species of property by a very precarious and uncertain tenure. Slaves then were no doubt in great numbers, but the system, though introduced and allowed, was recognised and regulated by law; and it was even supposed that baptism would confer freedom. Such a state of things could not exist long after a government was permanently established. Accordingly, in the year last mentioned, the legislative authority, declared "that the power of the master over such slaves, ought to be settled and limited by positive laws, so that the slaves may be kept in due subjection and obedience, and the owners and other persons having the care and government of slaves, may be restrained from exercising too great rigor and cruelty over them, and the public peace and order of the province may be preserved." They then proceeded to enact (P. L. 163.) That this class of persons "*shall be deemed, taken, reputed and*

NOTES.

(22.) We wonder that a slaveholder should borrow for his signature the name of Oglethorpe! How happens it that such men as Oglethorpe have their tombs built by the children of those who were ready to dabble in their blood before they died? In 1776, Oglethorpe wrote to Granville Sharp,—"My friends and I settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees, to make laws, &c. *We determined not to suffer slavery there;* but the slave merchants and their adherents, occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to sanction them. We would not suffer slavery, (which is against the gospel as well as the fundamental law of England,) to be authorised under our authority; we refused as trustees, to make a law permitting such a *horrid crime.* The government, finding the trustees resolved firmly not to comply with what they thought unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent."—*Prince Hoare's Memoirs of Sharp*, vol 1. p. 231.

(23.) These laws, so far as they have any humanity in them do indeed prove that slaveholders have a conscience, and mean to set some bounds to their oppression—but all practical protection which they might afford the slave, is nullified and turned into mockery by the refusal of slave, or even colored testimony, when a white is a party.

(24.) This measuring of sinners among themselves is not wise. If the slaves are treated as ill as our northern colored population, or any thing like it, what Mr. Bellinger has just said cannot be true. Our colored population do need protection, and for this reason we are striving to overthrow that system which throws its upas shade over *them* as well as over its immediate victims.

adjudged in law, chattles, personal in the hands of their owners, and shall be and hereby declared to be and remain for ever hereafter, absolute slaves."

They then enacted various laws and regulations in consonance with the just, wise, and humane sentiments expressed in the preamble to this important statute, which was intended to benefit, and has *benefitted alike* master and slave. But the Legislature of our State foresaw that a period might arrive when individuals, blinded by ignorance or maddened by fanaticism, would attempt to disturb, (so far as their efforts extended,) their fundamental policy of the State; and with a sagacity, (which the present state of affairs shows to have been unerring) they declared by the statute of 1820, p. 22, *that no emancipation should take place*, save by legislative authority. Thus it appears not only that our rights in this particular are recognised by the laws of the land, but that we are forbidden (under forfeiture) to waive those rights.

Let it not be imagined that I am guilty of the absurdity of citing our own statute book to justify our own conduct. I have made this exposition of Carolina law, in the first place, to impress on the minds of our fellow-citizens the long established and permanent policy of our laws; and in the second place, to show to the world that our rights are guarantied by a charter which no earthly authority (our own government excepted) can rightfully question.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully submit to this meeting whether I have not sustained my proposition, *That our position and our course of conduct in relation to this peculiar species of property is enforced by necessity, sanctioned by religion, and justified law.* If in this I have been successful, not only have I redeemed the pledge given in the opening of my remarks, but I have brought the minds of those who hear me, to the unavoidable and practical conclusion, that we are bound to maintain that position and to pursue that conduct by all the considerations of necessity, of religion, and of law. And I am thus particular and pointed, because I have perceived with astonishment and regret, that our true position and policy has been totally misunderstood in other sections of the Union. Thus, at the great meeting, held at New York, and at which no less than ten thousand individuals attended for the avowed purpose of expressing opinions favorable to the south, I find it taken for granted, that emancipation is an object as much desired by the south as the north, provided it be gradual. Immediate emancipation is condemned. Nay more, those who addressed that meeting and whose remarks were received with a thunder of applause, uttered such sentiments, as those I read from the reported proceedings—"That slavery is a great evil, we do not pretend to deny." [Did the Orator find this concession necessary to make even those resolutions go down?] "The south admits it," [call you that backing your friends?] says another orator. "Slavery was no doubt a disgrace," (spirit of Carolina! who is it that flings at thy fair fame this black dishonor?) "Slavery was no doubt a disgrace but it was descended from our forefathers." Departed Marion, Moultrie, and Laurens! could disgrace descend from you? Never! You bequeathed us an inheritance of rights and glory! Those rights are yet unimpaired! That glory is yet untarnished! Mr. Chairman, the language which I have quoted must proceed from ignorance the most gross, or from hypocricy "double distilled." I cannot abide it—I tear it to pieces—I dash it to the ground—I put my foot upon the loathesome thing and say, That if any man at the south makes but a movement towards emancipation—general or partial—immediate or remote—he is faithless to the duty which he ows to his slaves—faithless to the duty which he owes to his State—faithless to the duty he owes to his God!

I speak advisedly and not in passion. I trust that I am heard when slowly, solemnly, and emphatically, I repeat it:—

That if any man at the south makes but a movement towards emancipation—equal or partial—immediate or remote, he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his slaves—faithless to the duty he owes to his State—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God!

I know not, Mr. Chairman, how others regard this matter; but for myself I consider the station of master as imposing the most sacred and indispensable obligations.

I give it as nothing that the system of slavery is too deeply fixed to be eradicated—I give it as nothing that my claim is consistent with the principles of religion and fortified by the authority of law. Let it be supposed that emancipation could be effected by a magical word and with safety to myself and fellow-citizens—let it be supposed, that I could divest myself (as a citizen of the south) of all interest in this matter—let it be supposed that I am consulting exclusively the comfort and happiness of my slave. I see him obedient, industrious, comfortable and happy. He discharges with fidelity his duty to me—he is attached to my person and household—he desires no change—he is incapable of enjoying a better lot. I repay his services with food, clothing and protection. (25)

And the question is brought home to my conscience, before the world and in presence of my God:—what is my duty to this being? Shall I turn him loose to become idle, unruly and wretched? Shall I cause him to sink into a condition more degraded and infinitely less comfortable than the one he has hitherto occupied? or to be sent abroad to perish with famine or by violence? Shall I, influenced by a false and pernicious humanity, bring misery and ruin upon his unconscious head? or is it not my duty to avert these consequences? is it not my duty to continue the necessary (but not severe) restraints of a master's authority? Is it not my duty to protect him against his own weakness and shield him from the cruel mercies of the misguided philanthropist, and the furious fanatic? is it not—but enough. I need no labored homilies—no treatise on national law—no legislative enactments to teach me my duty: it is engraven on my heart. (26) This being is under my care and protection. By providence have I been appointed the guardian of his comfort and his life. Circumstances may force us apart; but I will not—I cannot—I dare not abandon the trust!

And this is the feeling and resolution of the south. The danger is not at home. Our slaves are contented. Our citizens are able to protect their property and lives. The danger is from abroad, Yes, the danger is from the inhabitants of our *sister States*—The danger is lest the fanatic shall carry out his wicked and unholy designs—the danger is lest the weak and honest-minded shall be deceived by the specious pleas of these fanatics—the danger is lest the just and intelligent citizens of these States shall stand by in apathy and see attacked our best and dearest interests. To those who may he ignorant and misguided I would say "you are mistaken—you are grossly deceived. Slavery at the south is no evil—*it is a blessing to both master and slave.* It is sanctioned by religion—it is justified in law—there is a stern necessity which we cannot remove. (27) You imagine that you are promoting our interests and the happiness of our slaves. You imagine that you are advocates of humanity and religion. Never was there a greater—a more lamentable error.

Your religion is worse than misguided zeal—Your humanity is horrible cruelty. Think—reflect—ere you bring direful destruction on both master and slave. Pause ere the objects of your kindness, become the miserable victims of your fanaticism and your folly!" (28)

To those who have not been blinded, and whose hearts have not yet been hardened by the sophistry and wicked devices of the abolitionists and incendiary, (and surely there are many such,) to our sister States, I would urge another and stronger appeal: "you admit—you cannot deny that our rights are guarantied by that constitution which you are bound to support by all the obligations of self-interest, of honor, of patriotism and religion,—will you permit this gross violation of our rights? Will you by acquiescense sanction this outrage on humanity—this insult to religion? Will you allow your people to offer to us a wrong, which, as between strangers would, (if not redressed,) be met by a prompt appeal to the last resort of nations!

Think not that you are safe. The mischief meant for us will recoil on you! The blow directed at our rights, will crush your own! Waste not the precious time in professions of friendship—give us *action* for *words*—rise in your might—you have the power—check the deluded—crush the miscreant within your borders. In the name of Justice—in the name of American liberty, we hold up before you the constitution of the common country, and demand as of right that you redeem the pledge se solemnly, so irrevocably given. By all that is enobling in the past—by all that is valuable in the present—by all that is glorious in the future, we conjure you, force us not to protect ourselves agains fratricidal attack—force as not to reverse the great national maxim and say,—"Divided we stand—united we fall! [29] Let not the pure altar of American freedom be polluted, and its fair temple destroyed by the hand of the deluded fanatic and the vile incendiary. We cannot believe that you will disregard this call. We cannot think that the land of Wolcott and Williams—of Livingston and Lewis—of Hancock and Warren, will be deaf to our appeal. But if this must be, why, then we tell you plainly, that the lessons of '76 are neither forgotten nor impracticable; we tell you further, that the decendants of Marion and Moultrie—of Rutledge and Laurens—of Gadsden and Hayne—are worthy of their sires and true to themselves." For the abolitionist—the impudent pretenders to humanity and religion—the infamous wretches—the dastardly miscreants—the vile instigators of villainous cut-throats, I have no appeal, while using every effort to deprive us of our rights—to disturb our repose—to alarm and distract the minds of those who are near to us in blood and dearer in affection—to render our slaves wretched and miserable—to plunge our happy land into a servile war, and cover it with desolation—they *affect* to talk of humanity and free discussion—they even pollute the name of freedom, and say they do no more than exercise those sacred rights and "privileges which the constitution has guarantied to every citizen." Their devilish philanthrophy is equalled only by their imperturbable assurance. They can "quote Scripture for their purpose."

They do the "devil's bidding, and call it God's" service. They come with the language of our *Saviour* on their lips, but with the malice and hypocrisy of *Satan* in their hearts. Do they profane the name of justice, humanity, and religion? If actions are to form a criterion for motive, they care not six eents for the principles of justice—they care not a *pinch of snuff* for the interests of humanity—they care not *a snap of the finger* for the gospel of God! If they aim at the character of martyrs, [which is somewhat questionable,] I hope that they will meet an *appropriate* fate; although if their fellew-citizens respected those sacred rights, which the constitution has guarantied to *us*, they would seize the *incorrigible rascals* and lash them naked through the land. [30]

I am aware, Mr. Chairman, that I have indulged in expressions not usually heard in a public assembly. But I must adapt my language to the nature of the *subject*. I am at a less for words to express my feelings towards those who not only attack our most valuable and sacred rights, but with *ruffianly impudence* attempt to disturb the *peace and quiet of our domestic firesides*. History furnishes no parallel to their conduct. The impenitent thief on the cross might have plead unbelief for his excuse, and Judas Iscariot was tempted by the devil. I feel that I owe an apology for thus dwelling on a disgusting subject. I will only say that they should, by us, be treated with as little ceremony as a *wolf* or a *polecat*. Unquestionably they are the *vilest wretches* north or south of the Potomac, when adding *blasphemy* to their other iniquities, they pray for the success of their hellish schemes.

It is however not the less necessary to adopt measures of self protection.

This meeting has not been called for the purpose of creating an excitement or making a display. The interests connected with the objects of this meeting are too important and valuable to admit of idle declamation. The serious and peremptory question recurs, *What course shall be pursued?* It is very respectfully presented that the report of your committee, with the resolutions annexed, mark out the course of conduct which we should adopt.

In that report and those resolutions it is declared that you will not admit [on the part of another] even discussion—much less interference on the subject of these rights—rights guarantied by the constitution—consistent with the principles of justice and morality, and sanctioned by religion. It is further declared that any such interference, [come from whatever source it may,] will be promptly repelled *at all hazards*—proper measures of precaution and vigilance are pointed out. The just and patriotic citizens, and the constituted authorities of our sister States are exhorted and called on to crush the schemes of the fanatic and the incendiary, to perform the duty which they owe to us and to themselves, to the constitution and to the country—to justice, to humanity, and to God! But *if* our sister States, disregarding alike, the obligation imposed by the constitution and international law, should *not* respond to the call, then your committee recommend that the subject be referred to the united wisdom and united power of the southern States!

To go further for the present would be premature and injudicious. When the voice of the south shall be heard, I feel assured that my fellow-citizens of Barnwell, will be neither the last to respond nor the first to retract. In the mean time let us act up to the spirit and intent of these resolutions. In particular, let us avoid alike culpable supineness and unnecessary rigor, remembering *that our property is to be protected*, and that the enemy is the fanatic and the incendiary. Above all, fellow-citizens, let us be united at home. Away with trifling distinction in relation to a subject like this. A *curse* upon political bickerings, when the issue involves our best and dearests interests—all for which—

"We love to live, or dare to die."

Let us show to the world that we thoroughly understand our rights, that we are fully prepared and *sternly resolved* to defend them!

Mr. Chairman, allow me once more to advert to the language of A. A. 1740, [*That this class of beings shall be and are hereby declared to be and remain forever hereafter, absolute slaves*] as indicating *the settled policy* of the State. That principle was set forth nearly a century ago, and daily experience shows the sagacity of those who originated and sustained that policy. To those conversant with Carolina sentiments and principles, it needs no "second sight" to tell, that when that policy is attacked, the Union is endangered. The impudence of the fanatic and the villainous acts of the miscreant may be borne; but if the Federal Government or our sister States would venture to assail us on this point to strike at our policy a blow, though weaker than that from the finger of a new born babe, the bonds which bind us to the Union, though stronger than adamant, would be dissolved, Nay more, if this is to be the cause of separation—highly as I appreciate the advantages of that Union, [and I think that in times past I have given some practical proof of devotedness,] I, for one would say, let it come and come quickly. Yes, let it come like the thunderbolt's wing, and dash us forever apart! I hope—I trust for better things.

But let those who attack our domestic policy *know* and *remember*, that they wage a war against themselves—that they wage a war against the existence of this government—that they wage a war against the principles of constitutional liberty—principles for which our sires stood shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of battle, and literally marched with naked and blood-stained footsteps to victory—principles for which Virginia's Henry spoke, and Carolina's Marion fought, and the gallant Warren fell—principles which have descended to us a rich inheritance, endeared and enobled and consecrated by the names and the toil, and the blood of Hampden, Hancock and Hayne—of Henry Laurens and Christopher Gadsen! [30]

But not alone for the benefit and welfare of the Union must the policy of the A. A, 1740, be sustained. Dear and invaluable as that Union is, there are objects more dear and valuable—the interests and the rights of Carolina—our existence as a State.

And is it supposed that we can stand by and tamely see these liberties attacked—that existence in peril? Deep would be the regret and bitter the tears with which we would witness the downfall of our common liberties. But *deeper* the regret would be felt and *bitterer* tears would be shed, when we beheld our one cheerful hearth-stone, cold and desolate—our once fruitful fields, bearing the briar and the thistle—our town, in decay—our population stricken with poverty and despair—our State—our own Carolina—shorn of her influence and honors abroad, and at home sinking into hopeless, remediless ruin! Or, [to look to the other dread alternative,] when the fanatic and incendiary will *gloat* over the success of their infernal schemes—"when the blood of our sons will fatten our corn fields—when the war-whoop of death will wake the sleep of our cradles—when the darkness of midnight will glitter with the blaze of our dwellings"—when the streets and highways of our State, will be flowed with the best blood of her best children—when the sun will rise to look upon triumphant slaves and slaughtered victims, or *more wretched survivors*—when after passing through scenes of blood and carnage and horror, one of the fairest and happiest and noblest portions of the civilized world, will be converted into a region *fruitful only in crime and frightful with desolation!*

Fellow-citizens, the kindness with which my remarks have been received have induced me [unconsciously] to tresspass on your time and attention to an unreasonable extent. I cannot, however, conclude without expressing the hope that no one will understand me, as having uttered sentiments at variance with the political principles by which I have been hitherto guided. Those political principles, [important 'tis true to none but myself,] have undergone no change. I have said to-day no more than I would have said in 1832, what I would have repeated to-day had the occasion been similar; yet were it otherwise, not even the dread of the charge of political inconsistency could have deterred me from going with you hand and heart for southern rights and southern interests. Happily for myself, no such sacrifice is required. We meet [I repeat it] on common ground, and their is no diminution to the pleasure with which I give to your measures my unqualified approbation and prompt support.

I also intreat you to believe that I have not endeavored to excite the fears or rouse the passions of any. I apprehend nothing for the present; though if it must come, better to us than our children. But my object has been to express freely and fully my own feelings, and the vitally important subject which we have met to consider; and further to impress on the minds of all, the clear, deep and unshaken conviction, that the policy of the A. A. 1740, is inseparably connected and intertwined not only with the rights and interests, but with the very existence of our State; and that we must sustain our peculiar institutions, or ruin in its most awful form, awaits Carolina. If I judge aright the feelings and principles of those around me, I speak the language of all when I say *we will sustain those institutions!* Yes, sons of Carolina, by the honor of men—by all that we value and all that we love, we will sustain these institutions *to the last drop of our blood!* "RIGHT, JUSTICE AND HUMANITY" IS OUR MOTTO! "IN GOD OUR TRUST!"—*Emancipator.*

NOTES.

(25.) Just as much or as little as I please.

(26.) When slaveholders begin to feel the power of conscience, then they forsake expediency, and pretend that conscience is in their favor. So there must be such a thing as conscience!

(27.) Alas, A "STERN NECESSITY" for enduring a LESSING"!!!

(28.) By exciting, us their *kind masters*, to make them even more blessed than they are at present!

NOTES.

(29.) If the south should reverse the maxim, they might be far enough from finding the former part true; while if they do not give up their horrible oppression, *we* shall surely verify the latter part, viz: "united we *fall*."

(30.) If any reader should wonder at this proficiency in billingsgate, which our orator shares in common with dignified southern gentlemen generally, we can tell him in what school it was learned—THE MANAGEMENT OF SLAVES.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Communications.

For the Philanthropist.

SLAVERY AND EMANCIPATION.

"CAN ANY GOOD THING COME OUT OF NAZARETH? COME AND SEE."

MR. EDITOR:—I have seen the first and second Nos. of the Philanthropist—and believe and hope, from the tone which it has assumed, that it will be a powerful instrument in the dissemination of the true doctrines of philanthrophy and "good will to men," and that it will be a means of furthering the great cause of human liberty throughout our country and the world. I admire the mild, though independent tone, in which it addresses itself to the slaveholder. I have long been of the opinion that much injury may be done to the cause which you, in common with a large portion of your fellow-citizens, advocate, by the intemporate and ill-timed zeal of a few. A knowledge of human nature will teach us, that men, as well as brutes, are much more easily led than driven; and calm, dispasssionate reasoning, will ever, in any and every cause, produce more good results than mere denunciations.

In taking a position on these momentous questions that are agitating our country, and in revolving the causes that tend to produce, and continue, slavery, and the means that must be resorted to for its extention,—I am led to adopt the following as an incontrovertable truth—That no man or set of men—no community of rational beings—will persevere, and continue to persevere, in a cause which they know to be directly and palpably wrong—and not only wrong, but at variance with their best interests—temporal and spiritual—in time and in eternity. This, I consider, may be put down as a maxim—founded on reason and philosophy—to which there can be but few objections. The instinct of nature—which prompts man to seek pleasure and avoid pain—to choose happiness and shun misery—will also teach him to forsake a course of action, the moment he becomes fully convinced that it is wrong, and destructive to his best interests. Hence I infer the necessity of adopting a mild and persuasive tone—instead of a commanding and belligerent one—in discussing the question of emancipation. The great object we have in view, is the healing of a gangrene that infects our otherwise sound and beautiful political system—the wiping away of a dark stain—foul and black and bloody, though it be from our national escutcheon; and I am fully of the opinion, that a mild course of treatment is the best that can be adopted in the present stage of the disorder—that a mild and soothing, rather than a harsh remedy, will the sooner cleanse and renovate and restore the diseased body politic: though I am well aware that it is a prevalent doctrine, among some of the advocates of emancipation, that a disease of such long standing, and one which has so long withstood every attempt at cure, cannot be managed with any certainty of success, except by the adoption of harsh and violent treatment. But I must beg leave to differ from them. Often has the worthy practitioner of medicine been forced into a conviction, that his failures in the course of his practice resulted from a defective investigation into the nature of the disease, and the want of proper caution in the application of the remedies.

We all agree as to the actual existence of the disease. Of this there can be no dispute. The high state of the pulse—the violent agonies—the convulsive throes—not to mention the evident mental delirium—of the patient, are so many symptoms of disease, that cannot be mistaken. And we also agree as to the great nesessity of effecting a speedy cure, are it becomes too late. Consequently, the next thing to which we are to direct our enquiries, is the nature of the malady, and the nature and probable effect of the remedies to be applied. I have sometimes thought, that this part of the subject has not been sufficiently looked to, and examined, by a portion of those who have undertaken to discuss this momentous question. That the main cause and secret spring of the disease is self-interest, [a thing good enough, too, when properly directed,] I lay down as beyond controversy. This same principle affects us all to a certain extent—though not in the same way. Then the conclusion is irresistable, that were it not to the interest of the slaveholders to hold their fellow-men in bondage, they would not do it:—or, in other words, that if self-interest taught them to restore to them their long lost rights, they would most surely do it.

This, in the main, and setting aside other incidental circumstances, as I before observed, may be laid down as incontrovertable. Hence, then, the necessity for those who enter the arena of warfare on this great question of right and duty, to arm themselves with such weapons as are calculated to ensure victory on this one point—and this effected, the battle is gained—the contest is ended. Let them dwell, not so much on the enormity, and sin, and wickedness of slavery, as upon its inexpediency and evil tendency. Instead of saying to the slaveholder—"You are a wicked man, a tyrant, and a murderer,"—we should rather bring the matter home to his reason and his conscience, and address him in the style of Christian kindness and charity, and as one member of the human family, should address another, holding equal stations before God, and possessing equal privileges on earth, and a like proneness to wander from the path of duty.

There is another point which I would press most earnestly upon my fellow-citizens who are engaged in this great controversy. It is the peculiar situation of the masters themselves. We should consider that the principles of negro slavery have been a part and a portion of their education—that they have been reared from infancy to manhood, and from manhood to old age, to look upon the man of color as a degraded being, inferior in the scale of intellect,—and to consider him as *property*, in the truest sense of the word. We should consider the well known lines of Pope:—

"'Tis education forms the common mind,
Just as the twig is bent, the tree 's inclined."

And we should also recollect, that this "*property*" is guarantied to them by that sacred instrument which we have all been taught to revere, and which our children are instructed to lisp in accents of praise. These things should be borne in mind.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I must say, that I am not anxious, and have no wish, to gain the appellation of an appologist for slavery. I fully and unequivocally deny the right of one man to hold another man for a moment in bondage. And I am fully of the opinion, that an imediate enfranchisement of the southern slave, and of every slave on earth,—so far as would comport with the safety and security of both parties, the master and the slave—with all the rights and privileges which belong to them, and for which they were created, would not only be doing to them that which would be just and right, in the eyes of God, but would be the best policy;—best for all parties concerned.

One of the most important things to be looked to, in the present stage of the discussion, is, in my opinion, the necessity of giving the Southern people the *truth*, to the objects of the advocates of emancipation. They should be informed that abolitionists are not fanatics—that they are not intermeddlers—that they do not aim at the dissolution of this fair Union; but, on the contrary, that their greatest wish is to preserve it to future ages, pure and unsullied;—that they do not wish to interfere with the rights of property as established by the States and guarantied by the constitution—that they have no enmity to the southern people,—but esteem them as fellow-citizens, as friends, as brothers,—that they do not wish to excite rebellion and rapine and death in their borders—that all their designs are peace—*peace*, PEACE! Let the truth come home to them on every southern breeze, that an abolitionist is a *man*, and not a *demon*, as partizan demagogues of the north have represented him to be. Let them know that what we say is addressed to the *master*, and *not* to the slave—to the oppressor and not to the oppressed—to the enlightened, and not to the illiterate and degraded. Let them know, that while we exhort, we also sympathise—that while we are endeavoring to bring them to shun the Charybdis towards which our potitical Ark is hastening, we know, and we feel, that, should the vessel be drawn into the dreadful vortex, not the slaveholder—not the south alone, but the north also, will partake of the general ruin.

AMICUS.

Cincinnati, January 15, 1836.

For the Philanthropist.

A BRIEF DIALOGUE BETWEEN AN ABOLITIONIST AND A SELF-STILED CONSERVATIVE.

A.—*There* is a paper, my dear sir; I wish you would read it.

C.—What is it? the Emancipator? Away with it—I will read none of your papers. You are doing more harm than good—you are enemies to both slaveholders and slaves.

A.—Do you believe; that *colonization* will ever result in the abolition of slavery?

C.—It would have done so, if it had not been for such as *you*.

A.—That is not the question. I ask not what it might have done, but whether you believe, it *will* effect the emancipation of the slaves?

C.—Well then—I do not.

A.—How, then, do you suppose the slave-system *will* terminate in our country?

C.—Why, if *ever* the slave be free, it will be by his own efforts—by *insurrection*—a *servile war*.

A.—Look, now, at the predicament, in which you have placed yourself. You disbelieve in the power of colonization, either now or ultimately, to destroy slavery. You believe, that slavery in the United States, will be either perpetual, or brought to an end by an insurrectionary war—a war of extermination between whites and blacks. In view of this dreadful alternative, you manifest no concern. You enquire not, whether there may not be a way of escape—a *preventive* remedy. You shut your eyes and stop your ears to exclude all knowledge on the subject. You bring your mind in darkness and your heart in torpor; that you may neither see nor feel; and you are eager to pour out the phials of your wrath upon any one, who anxiously enquires and searches out, whether there may not be a way of salvation for both master and slave. Yet you profess yourself a conservative—one of the pillars of peace and union—the true friend of master and slave.

On the other hand—*I* believe as *you* do, that the colonization scheme is an inefficient one—and that, no preventive method being desired, perpetual soul-killing bondage, or a wasting servile war, will be the result. I am alarmed at this view. I open my mind to light from every source; I cast about on every side, with a true zeal for the welfare of all parties, for the welfare of this generation, and all coming generations. I enrol myself with those, who dare look at the horrible evil, and who are using mighty efforts to bring to light every circumstance connected with it, in order to devise a way, which, relieving the sonscience of the master of an enormous burthen, and restoring to the slave the enjoyment of his sacred rights, shall bring present and abiding peace, security and prosperity to both.

Who is the conservative—who the friend both of the white man and negro—you or I? G.

For the Philanthropist.

MR. EDITOR:—In opposition to *immediate* emancipation, it has been frequently urged, that it would be productive of injury to old and infirm slaves. No longer having any claim on the master, without food or shelter, they would be exposed to all the horrors of starvation and nakedness.

I am unable to perceive any real force in this objection. On whom do worn-out slaves now depend for subsistence? on men, some of whom are kind, some unkind, a majority influenced by motives of interest, and all scarcely appreciating the truth, that the slave is a man. I will not say that, for the most part, slaves of this sort are cruelly neglected or maltreated; but I will say, that in many cases, such must be, such is the fact. The question then is, are not the sufferings of the aged and feeble, more common and severe in a state of bondage than of freedom? This question can easily be answered after considering the following circumstances:—

1. There are comparatively very few, so broken down by age as to be unable to procure a comfortable subsistence when working for wages.

2. It is to be presumed, from what is known of human nature, that filial affection would abundantly supply the place of a master's tenderness, that the sympathies and kind offices of sons and daughters, would be more soothing and sustaining to their grey headed sire, than the tender mercies of him, who has been accustomed to class both father and children, with horses, cows and other four-footed beasts. In a word: that children will be more likely bountifully to support the parent, whom nature teaches them to love, than will the master, who can derive from him no profit.

3. Why lose sight of voluntary charities? Will there be no Christian with bowels of compassion, to form associations for the relief of wretchedness and poverty?

4. But the law may provide. Remember, emancipation is to be accomplished by Christian influence. The same principle, the same spirit that shall induce the slaveholder to manumit at once and unconditionally his negroes, will incite him to devise a plan which shall secure from suffering, the poor aged servant, who, having poured out the strength of his manhood in toil unrequited, now asks as a freed man but little, nor asks that little long.

What is the security of the aged man in a state of bondage? The kindness of him, on whom he is a burthen, and who does not believe him to be a man, like himself.

What will be the security of the aged man in liberty? The affection of vigorous children, philanthropic associations, a rectified, Christian public sentiment, operating by law. G.

Congressional.

From the Washington Correspondence of the Cincinnati Gazette.

SENATE.

On the 7th of January, Mr. Morris, from Ohio, presented a petition from citizens of Ohio, on the subject of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, in the Senate of the United States. Mr. Calhoun demanded the reading of the petition, and afterwards the question, "Shall it be received?"

On this question a debate insued which occupied the whole of the day, and in which Mr. Morris, Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Porter, Mr. Preston, Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Leigh, took part.

Mr. Buchanan moved that the question be postponed until Monday, which was agreed to.

Mr. Morris stood up and advocated the right of petition as secured by constitutional provision. Other gentlemen occupied divers grounds, a new hash, we suppose, of the high-seasoned and often cooked dishes, served up in the south for the last six months: the end and object being to place the right to petition and the right to speak and print, under the control of those who may consider themselves affected by petitioning, speaking, or printing. Charles X, and his ministry, asked nothing more—attempted to enforce nothing more. He lost his throne. His advisers dwell in prisons, and we rejoiced! But the matter wears a different face, when it appears among ourselves. Here it is well enough, and serves to cherish the spirit manifested in the subjoined:—

We add Mr. Morris' remarks as given in the Intelligencer of January, 11.

Mr. Morris. In presenting these petitions, he would say, on the part of the State of Ohio, that she went to the entire extent of the opinions of the Senator from South Carolina on one point. We deny (said he) the power of Congress to legislate concerning local institutions, or to meddle in any way with slavery in any of the States, but we have always entertained the opinion that Congress has a primary and exclusive legislation over the District: under this impression, these petitioners have come to the Senate to present their petitions. The doctrine that Congress has no power over the subject of slavery in this District, is to me a new one, and it is one which will not meet with credence in the State in which I reside. I believe these petitioners have the right to present themselves here, placing their feet on the constitution of their country, when they come to ask of Congress to exercise those powers which they can legitimately exercise. I believe they have a right to be heard in their petitions, and that Congress may afterwards dispose of those petitions as in their wisdom they may think proper. Under these impressions, these petitioners come to be heard, and they have a right to be heard. Is not the right of petition a fundamental right? I believe it is a sacred and fundamental right belonging to the People to petition Congress for the redress of their grievances. While this right is secured by the constitution, it is incompetent to any legislative body to prescribe how the right is to be exercised, or when, or on what subject—or else this right becomes a mere mockery. If you are to tell the people that they are only to petition on this or that subject, or in this or that manner, the right of petition is but a mere mockery. It is true that we have a right to say that no petition which is couched in disrespectful language shall be received; but I presume there is a sufficient check provided against this, in the responsibility under which every Senator presents a petition. Any petition conveyed in such language would always meet with his decided disapprobation. But if we deny the right of the people to petition in this instance, I would ask how far they have the right. While they believe they possess the right, no denial by Congress will prevent them from exercising it.

Senator Preston, from South Carolina, compares the abolitionists to "midnight assassins"—"to the torch-bearer, with fagots in one hand, and the fire in the other." He puts the petitioners for the abolition of slavery in the District on the same footing.

Senator Benton calls them "*fanatics;*"—they had sent him a "tree of *liberty!!*"

Senator Tyler, from Virginia, takes the broad ground of *State-rights*—denying, in the beginning, that Congress has the power to legislate at all on the question of Slavery. He denied, that the south had any dread of the northern agitators; assuming, that she has the power to quell all internal tumults, and to crush all domestic foes. She feared not—she never had feared, or would fear, her foes, be they foreign or domestic—she is strong enough to subdue them, and will subdue them.

If the south will propose a change in the constitution of the United States, by which the General Government will be released from any obligation to "protect" her from "domestic violence," it will show her confidence in her own valor and prowess, more conclusively than such *gasconades*, so utterly rediculous, when compared with the ague which Nat Turner and his handful of fanatical followers inflicted on the "*Old* Dominion" (!) four or five years ago.

Senator Leigh poured forth his anathema against the abolition spirit of Dr. Channing, "which had lately burst forth in an anti-slavery pamphlet, and regretted that such talents, such an intellect, such acquirements, should have imbibed the poisonous breath of abolition."

If any man has treated this "*delicate subject*" in a manner void of offense towards the honest slaveholder, it is Dr. Channing; and yet this is the return for all his tenderness and moderation. Verily the spirit of slavery is the Sirocco of the desert, before which every thing having life must prostrate itself, with its mouth in the dust—or perish.

Senator Buchanan presented petitions from a quarterly meeting of the Friends, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. On doing so, he undertook to procure it a gracious reception, by commending the piety and good character of the petitioners. As to the character of the Friends, surely, at this time of day, the information of Mr. Buchanan cannot be neded in Congress.

All persons, belonging to whatever denomination—or to none—as part of the "people" have a right to "petition"—and, as we believe, to be *heard;* without any investigation by Congress, whether their character be good or bad, or whether they be Christians or Infidels.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW RICHMOND, OHIO, JAN. 22, 1836.

The Right to Petition Congress.—One of the evils of slavery, is to blind the understandings of those who have been a long time subjected to its influence, to the plainest truths. The late proceedings in Congress prove the correctness of this observation, in a remarkable manner. The representatives from the south, seem to have forgotten that the constitution of the United States is, to this day, and always has been, since its adoption, *the will of the people*, as to what is *right*, at all times and under all circumstances, in their government; that they have chosen *it*—and not *slavery*—as the greatest good they can establish for themselves in reference to their political condition; and that by it, every thing else is to be tested—and *it*, by nothing else. The south seem desirous of substituting *slavery* as the great good of the country, and deny the right of existence to any thing else which is found at all to affect the vitality of *its* existence. *Slavery* with the south, is the infallible test. Whatever tends to support it is right—whatever to extinguish it is *wrong*. Instead of proving all things, relating to our political state, by the *constitution*, they take up a *subordinate*—elevating it above the constitution, and making it the *judge* of the constitution.

Is there any thing clearer, than the right of the people under the constitution, "to petition the government for a redress of grievances?" If there be, language has become useless as a medium to ascertain and explain our rights—it has ceased being instrumental in securing and perpetuating them.

If the people have the right of petitioning, can this right be impaired in the least degree, by the *disagreeableness* of the subject-matter of their petition? We should say, by no means. For the right to *petition*, would seem to imply that the *object* was not *popular*. This provision of the constitution is intended to secure a right to the *minority*. If it were otherwise, and no petition could be presented, unless the object of it was popular and agreeable to every one, there would be no necesity for the provision:—Congress would act spontaneously, because, to act, would be to carry out its own will.

Does not, then, the right to *petition*—no matter how disagreeable the *subject* may be to those to whom the petition is addressed, or to those whom they represent—carry with it, necessarily the right to have the petition *considered?* Without the latter, the first would be of no value. It is a fair presumption, that the people when they petition for a redress of grievances, *intend* no wrong—and that they urge their reasons in support of their object with perfect sincerity. Now, if the *object*, at a superficial view, be *wrong*, or disagreeable—and the reasons to prove it clearly *right* be excluded from the mind of Congress by rejecting the petition, or by laying it on the table, with the intent never again to take it up, Congress may be forever in the dark. The nation might be greatly injured by such a course in some of its most important interests. But *certain* injury would arise, because,—

1. It is a denial of constitutional right. If such a right be denied, directly or indirectly, it weakens our respect for the constitution, *as a whole.*

2. *To refuse to consider* the reasons and the object of the petitioners will, by no means, satisfy them. They will continue to petition, till they are fairly met in argument, and proved to be in the wrong;—or, till it is evident that the right intended to be secured to them by the constitution is deliberately disregarded. When the latter is manifest, considerate persons, who are also ardent friends of the constitution, though they may be inimical to the *object* of petitioners, will unite with them, because *right* has been denied, and the constitution, in its integrity, is endangered. They will prefer that the object of the petitioners should be attained, rather than the sanctuary of all our rights should be violated.

3. It is insulting to the people to be thus treated. They feel indignant at it,—and it tends to interrupt the amicable relation that should always exist between them and their legislative agents. But there is a stronger reason in this.

4. That the people themselves may unconsciously be wrong. They may be acting without a knowledge of their constitutional rights, or without a proper regard to expediency. If this should, at any time, be the case, what would have a more correcting influence than a calm, respectful, and thorough consideration of all their reasons; and a full, yet friendly, exposure of their errors, if there be any? It is to be presumed, it would satisfy the petitioners. If not *them*, it would, all the rest of the community. There are many—and we profsss to be of the number—to whom no doubt has ever presented itself, as to the power of Congress under the constitution, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia. Still, on this as on all other subjects, we are open to conviction. If convinced by argument, of our error, we would be among the last to ask of Congress any action unauthorised by the constitution.

Furthur:—if the *power* was undeniable—and it could be demonstrated, that a postponement of the question would produce more desirable results than immediate action would,—to convince them of the correctness of this opinion, would, doubtless, have great influence on the petitioners.

That the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, is *disagreeable* to the south, the petitioners believe, furnishes no sufficient reason why they should not be heard. Nor do they feel less inclined to desist from their purpose, which, so far as they are informed is authorised by the constitution, merely because they expose themselves to the abuse and vilification of the rash and intemperate of their opponents in Congress. They cannot, however, but remember the different conduct of the north, a few years ago, when the voice of the south was heard in the forms of popular petitions, legislative addresses, resolutions, memorials, &c., for the repeal of the tariff. Then, whoever thought of refusing to hear them, because their object was *disagreeable* to the north?

Imprudence of Slaveholders.—The next morning after publication had been made in the Cincinnati Gazette of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society of this city (Cincinnati,) a gentleman of mature age, and respectable appearance, entered the book-store, where it had been stated in the account published as above mentioned, anti-slavery books, essays, &c., were deposited for sale. His name was reported to us—though not with that certainty, which would authorise us to repeat it. He represented himself as residing in a village in Kentucky, some distance from Cincinnati, a few miles from the Ohio river, and as being a slaveholder:—also, that he was an old acquaintance, if not a former friend, of ours.

He spoke much, and with a vehemence that was but ill controlled, against the discussion of slavery in the free States—the sale of anti-slavery publications—and the establishment of our press—saying, that a summary process must be adopted for suppressing the discussion, by making signal examples of a few—that the Philanthropist must be put down, and that a large number of men (our informant states *ten thousand!)* could be arrayed in Kentucky for that purpose. His language and manner were such, as greatly to surprise those who were present.

Of the above statement we feel ourselves bound to say something; and we trust, it may be for good. Whatever share of this gentleman's remarks—if any—were intended to *intimidate*, we know, so far as we are concerned, they were useless. If he is serious in his menaces to put down discussion in this State, *by force*, it adds another proof to the melancholy abundance furnished within the last six months, that the slaveholder regards no right too sacred for immolation to the *system* which he is determined to perpetuate. Upon what times have we fallen! We have seen the constitution of our native State lying at the feet of the slaveholder, whilst he stood exulting in its overthrow; we have been harrassed by slaveholders till we were almost compelled to abandon the place of our birth (which we had thought to make the place of our death,) and take up our residence in the metropolis of a free State. Here, we hoped for security under a constitution, in which slavery had been signally rebuked, and the right of discussion declared "indisputable." But how has it been here? Before we could even claim citizenship in Cincinnati, we were assailed by a portion of the press, in whose scales *southern* rights are *gold—northern* rights, *dust;* with whom the *south* is every thing—the *north*, nothing; before whose vision the planter, at the head of his troop of slaves, constitutes the *beau ideal* of dignity and venerableness—while the honest farmer of Ohio, living by his own toil, is unthought of or neglected, and the most sacred immunities of himself and his children are forgotten, or contemptuously trodden under foot. The love of peace led us to waive, for the time, the exercise of our right to use the press in Cincinnati. We found a place for its establishment among a friendly and law-abiding people—who, if they are not unanimous in their views of *emancipation*, have, we are sure, but one mind as to the *Liberty of the Press—the Freedom of Speech—and the enjoyment, the undisturbed enjoyment, by every man, of his* constitutional rights. But even in this spot, these rights are to be pursued, with blood-hound constancy, for their destruction. No place however fortified by law; no sanctuary however sentinelled by the constitution, is to be regarded as inviolable, when the heart's blood of Liberty is to be shed, and the banner of Slavery to be unfurled.

We beseech the slaveholder to be admonished. Let him not be misled by the encouragement he may receive from the obedient instruments of misrule and disorder, posted in our towns and cities. The *people*, in the free States are taking up this subject—fast taking it up; they will calmly and deliberately take it up, and, if left unprovoked by slaveholding turbulence and outrage, will come to the conclusions of wisdom. But a single rash act may speedily bring on the south all the evils, which, in its infatuation, it is endeavoring, by violence, to prevent. But after the light which has been thrown into the dark caverns of slavery within the last three or four years; after it has been demonstrated to be in such direct opposition to the laws of God, and to be so continually cursed in his providence; to be so hostile to the natural equality of man, (as to rights) the foundation-principle of our institutions, and its existence surely leading our nation to degradation and ruin;—if to this be added the influence of the lawless proceedings at the south the last summer and autumn—the plundering of the mail—the cruel scourgings—the illegal hanging of our fellow-citizens—the overbearing and insulting terms in which *freemen* petitioning for what they *believe* to be right, are attempted to be repelled by the southern representation in our National Legislature;—when, we say, all these materials of combustion are known to be lying up in northern mind, how rash and suicidal must be the slaveholder, to apply the spark which may cause the sudden and utter explosion, in a moment, of an evil, which the abolitionist, by every argument and appeal is persuading him to abandon, peaceably and without danger, while he may.

The Editor of the Cincinnati Republican.—We intended making some remarks on the piece taken from this print in our present number—but our columns will not admit of it to day. In our next, we shall attempt—and trust, we shall not fail, to convince him of the ill effects of the course he is pursuing, not only on himself, but, so far as his influence extends, on his country.

Anti-Abolition Meeting.—We have heard it mentioned, as probable, that a meeting would be called in Cincinnati, by gentlemen who are particularly interested in the trade of the south, for the purpose of giving such an expression of their opinions and feelings in relation to abolition effort, as shall satisfy their southern friends of their regard for their rights, and of their opposition to anti-slavery movements. Should such a meeting be held, we trust, that great moderation and forbearance will prevail in it—and that while *southern* rights are fully respected, *northern* rights will not be altogether overlooked.

Our *children* are interested in what their *parents* are now doing in the existing controversy between Liberty and Slavery. For the rash act of a father in recording his name in favor of *slavery*, his son may have cause to blush a few years hence, when all are "fanatics" and "incendiaries" as they now are in Great Britain, since the triumph of Liberty has been celebrated in her act of colonial emancipation.

Something New.—Patriarchal *investment.—"A new project.*—Books are to be opened at Charlestown, Va., on the 17th inst., for subscriptions to the capital stock of a company to insure against losses, by the absconding of slaves. If a slaveholder [Patriarch] becomes suspicious that any of his slaves ["family"—"domestic circle"] intend to run away, he can render himself safe by paying a small premium. The project is a good one. The company have a charter from the State; [and, doubtless, Patriarch McDuffie will be made *President*, should the dignity of the "*Old* Dominion" permit it.]—*Va. paper.*

Extracts from Letters to the Editor.—*From a gentleman in Harrison Co., Ohio.*—"I will take *five* copies of the *Philanthropist*, and forward the money as soon as you address me a note directing where to send it by mail. I will do all I can to procure subscribers to your paper. An anti-slavery paper of this description, will be hailed as an epoch of great importance by the friends of freedom."

From a gentleman in Portage Co., Ohio.—"I transmit to you the names of the following [14] persons who have subscribed to your prospectus for the *Philanthropist*, which I retain, hoping to increase the number. I feel confident in saying to you for your encouragement, that our cause is progressing rapidly in this region. The moral power of the pulpit is beginning to be felt, and we hope much from the *press, if its freedom is continued.*"

From a gentleman at the head of one of our literary institutions.—"I hope the Lord will continue to help and support you, in the arduous work to which you have devoted yourself. It is none of the least of the difficulties, that a considerable number of good men who are agreed as to the object in view, appear at least to differ much as to the means which ought to be used. But this has been so in all cases of radical changes—and all the different instruments and agents are under the control and superintendence of the Commander in Chief!"

From a gentleman in a slave state.—"The *Philanthropist* made its appearance, two mails since. I need not attempt to tell, how much pleasure the bare knowledge of its issue, by its reception, gave all its friends,—for we regarded it rather as a persecuted sentient being, than a mere newspaper. I could not give you a better idea of what may be expected in relation to it in any other way, than by simply stating. that the five numbers directed to me, were taken out of the office on Saturday morning, and without my saying to any one, that I had received (or even hinting at) them, they were all subscribed for, taken out of my hands, and the money received for them by 3 o'clock the same evening. Their arrival was made known by the post-master. Further: by Monday evening, the ten sent to myself and Mr. ———, were taken, and the money deposited with me for transmission to you. All who have read the paper are highly pleased—even those who refuse to subscribe."

Slavery, a troublesome thing.—A gentleman just from the lower country, where he has been residing for some time, says, that in Natchez, *one-fifth*, and in the neighboring country (where, comparatively with the whites, the slaves are more numerous,) *one-third* of the whole white population perform patrol-duty every night.

This is part of the *police*-history of an institution "manifestly consistent," according to gubernatorial theology, "with the will of God;"—a *patriarchal* institution, under which Gov. McDuffie desires, above all others, to leave his "descendants." Truly, the Patriarchs must have had a busy time in maintaining this "*Ordination of Providence*"!! *This, too, is the* "corner-stone *of our* republican edifice"—so well tested in the *south* to be a good thing, that the Governor advises his friends in Ohio to establish it among themselves. Should the number of blacks among us be too small for our wants, and the price of them in the south, too high for us to purchase them there, his friend, Mr. Bellinger, informs us, that "a substitute may [will] be found in the lower class of citizens."

"A FREE PRESS OUR SECURITY."

Anti-Slavery Society.—On Friday, we published, as a business advertisement, a notice of a recent meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Cincinnati. We perceive that the publication has called forth the following in the Whig of Saturday:—

"It will be seen, by the Gazette of the 15th inst., that an attempt is making by James G. Birney, and his deluded followers, to create an excitement, in this city, on the subject of Slavery. In order to the protection of our property, &c., would it not be well that a meeting of our citizens be called to take this matter into consideration? X. Y. Q."

As the conductors of a newspaper press, professing a little old fashioned republican independence, we give to the public an account of the doings of the citizens around us. It is thought but just and right, that we, at home, and our fellow-citizens abroad, should be advised of such movements, of a public character, as any number of quiet citizens may make. We are opposed to abolitionism, to anti-slavery efforts. But we are not afraid to hear the advocates of these measures speak. If we are not mistaken, Thomas Jefferson, in his first inaugural speech, delivered this apothegm—"*Error of opinion may be safely tolerated, when reason is left free to combat it.*" We do not see why this is not as true, in 1836, as it was in 1801. At all events, we do not feel at liberty to act as if we feared that *error* would circumvent *reason*, the hypothesis upon which a censorship of the press is established in all despotic governments.

The suggestion, in the Whig article, that "*in order to the protection of our property,*" a public meeting may be necessary, is of an equally ominous and odious character. None can apprehend danger to "*our property*," from the Anti-Slavery Society as it exists in this vicinity. From whom is this danger to be apprehended? Surely it is not intended to suggest a lawless attack upon the property of anti-slavery men? And yet this seems to be the only obvious interpretation of the publication. We have a strong confidence that our citizens better understand their own rights, and the legal rights of their neighbors, than to contemplate any resort to violence, in any case whatever. Anonymous suggestions leading to such a result, cannot be too strongly deprecated.

We pronounce, that *no* man—be he nullifier, or slaveholder, or even advocate of slavery—can read the above, withou feeling that Mr. Hammond has *grown* in his respect and confidence. *Freemen* must feel additional security for *liberty*, their offspring's patrimony—when such men appear in this time of need and peril, as the fearless defenders of its outposts. Should a man, entertaining such sentiments as the above, and having the courage, under present circumstances, to avow them, find himself under the necessity of abandoning the citadel of *any* party with which he has been acting—in spite of their care to prevent it, *Mene, Mene, Tekel upharsin,* will be found written on the ensign waving at the head of their flagstaff. There is one party by which he must ever be welcomed:—the friends of political and civil liberty, of legal and constitutional supremacy, must always delight in such an associate.

Assaults on the Freedom of the Press and of Speech.—Every mob that has been raised for the last two years to put down the liberty of the Press—the freedom of Speech—and to trample upon the most sacred rights of the citizen,—has been excited by a portion of the press acting on the lawless and excitable part of the community. We will not say, that it has always been with this wicked intent, that such articles as the following are published:—but such is their *tendency*—as is proved by their being uniformly the forerunners of those outrages by which our country has been dishonored in the conduct of her own citizens:—

Mr. James G. Birney has issued proposals for publishing a paper at Danville in this State, to be called "The Investigator." His object is to effect the emancipation of the slave population. He is an enthusiastic, but, in our opinion, a visionary philanthropist, whose efforts, though well intended, are likely to be of no real service to the cause of humanity. He at least shows, however, that he has the courage to reside among the people, whose institutions he assails. He is not like Wm. Lloyd Garrison, living in Massachusetts and opening his battery upon States five hundred or a thousand miles off. He is not such a coward or fool as to think of cannonading the south and west from the steeple of a New England meeting-house.—*Lous. Jour.*

Notice to all it may concern.—A newspaper advocating the cause of Abolition of Slavery, is about being published in this city.

Query—"Can such things be"————"without our *special*" notice. Cincinnatian.

Sept. 9—3t.—*Cin. Whig.*

Some months ago, Mr. James G. Birney, the anti-slavery fanatic, after being driven from Danville, in this State, issued proposals for publishing an Abolition paper in Cincinnati, to be called "The Philanthropist." The Mayor of Cincinnati, finding him apparently resolved to carry the project into execution, informed him, by letter, that it would be impossible to protect him from the populace, if he should commence the publication of his paper in that place. Mr. Birney, convinced of his danger, but bent on the accomplishment of his designs, has given public notice, under date of the 1st inst., that the Philanthropist will make its appearance in a few weeks, *but not in Cincinnati.* He promises to announce, in due time, the place of publication. We recommend to him Liberia or Hayti. Perhaps, however, the advertiser's idol, George Bancroft, may again invite him to Northampton.—*Lous. Jour.*

Mr. James G. Birney has given notice in the Cincinnati Christian Journal, that he is about to commence the publication of his abolition paper at New Richmond, in Clermont county, near Cincinnati. We have little doubt that his office will be torn down, but we trust that Mr. B. will receive no personal harm. Notwithstanding his mad notions, we consider him an honest and benevolent man. He is resolute too. Not having been permitted to open his battery in this State, he is determined to cannonade us from across the river. Is'nt it rather too long a shot for execution, Mr. Birney?—*Lous. Jour.*

Abolition Paper.—We perceive by a notice in the Christian Journal, that James G. Birney, is about to commence his abolition paper, at New Richmond, Clermont County. Finding that his fanatical project would not be tolerated at Danville, Ky., nor in this city, he has at length settled himself on the border of Kentucky, and so near Cincinnati as to make the pestiferous breath of his paper spread contagion among our citizens. We deem this new effort an insult to our slaveholding neighbors, and an attempt to brow-beat public opinion in this quarter. We do therefore hope, notwithstanding the alleged respectability of the editor, that he will find the public so inexorably averse to his mad scheme, that he will deem it his interest to abandon it.—*Cin. Whig, Dec.* 21.

We have received the first No. of an abolition paper, printed at New Richmond, Ohio, mis-called the *Philanthropist*. The editor in his introduction gives us to understand, that his original determination was to publish his paper in Cincinnati; but receiving a hint that the attempt would be attended with serious consequences, he concluded, prudence was the better part of valor, and has commenced the promulgation of his incendiary doctrines at New Richmond.—*Cin. Rep. Jan.* 9.

It will be seen, by the Gazette of the 15th inst., that an attempt is making by James G. Birney and his deluded followers, to create an excitement, in this city, on the subject of slavery. In order to the protection of our property, &c., would it not be well that a meeting of our citizens be called to take this matter into consideration?—*Cin. Whig, Jan.* 16.

Abolition in Cincinnati.—The following just and appropriate remarks upon the subject of abolition, and the establishment of James G. Birney's abolition paper, we copy from the Cincinnati Republican, of Monday last. Mr. Birney had the impudence to send *us* two numbers of his incendiary paper, and we had concluded to treat it with the contempt it merits, lest a notice from us would give it more importance than it would otherwise most probably acquire. But since we have seen that it is backed by an abolition society in this city, we think both it and the murderous society, deserving the denunciations of the press.—*Cin. Whig.*

The "Philanthropist" Abolition Journal.—We took occasion, a few days ago, to announce the receipt of the first number of an abolition journal, mis-named the "Philanthropist," which has recently been established at New Richmond, in this State, under the auspices of that thorough-going abolitionist, and emissary of Tappan, Garrison, Thompson, & Co., James G. Birney.

The second number of this incendiary journal has been received. It more than fulfils the expectations of the first number, in the offensive and dangerous character of the publication, and the utter recklessness of the editor, with regard to the consequences which may result to the Union by the attempt to carry into effect the measures he recommends.

This new laborer in the unholy and unpatriotic cause of abolition, goes even beyond Garrison or Thompson in his uncompromising hostility to slavery, and in his zeal for unqualified and immediate emancipation; and, we doubt not, the editor, if encouraged to promulgate his abolition fire-brands among our citizens, in the spirit in which he has commenced, will win for himself as notorious and infamous a character as that which now distinguishes the two individuals above mentioned.

We refer to the establishment of an avowed abolition paper within our borders, with pain and sorrow. We had hoped that the enlightened sense of the people of this State, and their patriotic regard for the permanency of our institutions, would have so frowned upon any such suggestion, as to have deterred a man, even of Mr. Birney's temerity, from making the attempt. We know nothing of the motives which have prompted the editor of the Philanthropist in establishing an abolition paper in Ohio, at this cricis, and during the present excitement of the southern States upon the subject of slavery, and at a time, too, when the great and good men of every section of our beloved country are exerting their talents and devoting their time to the utmost in endeavoring to still the troubled waters, and save the Union from dissolution. We say we are ignorant of the motives which have prompted him, under these circumstances, and in the teeth of public sentiment, to scatter his fire-brands and incendiary missiles abroad upon society, in its present inflammable state; but those who have faith in the honesty of his purposes, must excuse us, if we attribute to him somethiug more than blind infatuation. There is a spirit abroad,—a malignant, treasonable spirit,—which under the cloak of philanthropy and benevolence, is seeking to undermine the institutions of our country, and revolutionise the land. There are many restless, discontented individuals, some of whom possess talent and energy, who sicken at the prosperous condition of our country, and whose ambitious longings incapacitate them from enjoying the blessings of a government based upon republican principles. Like the fallen angels, whose revulsionary history is recorded in Milton's Paradise Lost, they cannot appreciate the beauties of order, peace, and good government. They are longing for *turmoil* and *strife* and *anarchy*, they would destroy our whole system of government,—*social, political, and religious;* they would "raise the whirlwind," and though they might shrink from "directing the storm" of their own creation, yet they would mingle with demoniac pleasure in the elements of discord and the wreck of society. No midnight incendiary ever looked with greater satisfaction upon the flames which his torch produced, than will the abolition incendiary contemplate the political conflagration, which threatens to grow up from the agitation of the slave question.

There are many who co-operate with the advocates of abolition from pure and honest, though mistaken, motives; but they are such as are ignorant of the nature of slavery, as it exists in this country, and of the consequences which must inevitably result from the attempt to carry into effect the principles which they are taught by hypocritical and designing men, to believe sacred and just. But the editor of the Philanthropist has not the plea of ignorance; he is a man of education and talents. He is acquainted with the character of our institutions; he has resided in the slave States; he has seen the operation of the system there. He must have made himself familiar with the sentiments of the southern people upon this subject; and if he be a man of sound judgment, from what came under his observation there, he must have formed the conclusion, that to interfere with the institutions of those States, or to abolish the system of slavery, without their consent, is perfectly futile, and must be attended by the most serious consequences to the harmony of the Union; while, at the same time, the effect will be, most undoubtedly, to rivet more closely the bonds, which he, in the fulness of his pretended philanthrophy, is endeavoring to loosen.

We have extended this article to a much greater length than we intended in the outstart, but the further we go, the more the subject grows upon us. If we did not know from our own observation, and from a long residence in the southern country, that the evils of the slave system have been greatly and wickedly exaggerated, and that the prejudices and feelings entertained upon this subject by the friends of emancipation, are unjust, unwarrantable, and calculated to produce the most serious consequences, we would not have devoted so much attention to the obnoxious journal, which has called forth these remarks. But feeling, as we do, that our southern brethern have been much misrepresented, and their institutions unjustly assailed,—that the interference of individuals not residing in those States where slavery is recognised, and who are not ameanable to their laws, is *unjust, unpatriotic, unchristian* and *revolutionary* in its tendency, we cannot, as conductors of a public press, professing devotion to the Union, and the sacred cause of truth and justice, witness the encouragement of principles so abhorrent to our feelings and dangerous to the country, without raising at least a warning voice, and exposing the character and tendency of this torpedo, which essays to insinuate itself, under the disguise of *philanthrophy*, into the confidence of a liberal and fostering community.—*Cin. Rep. Jan.* 15.

Anti-Slavery.—Mr. Theodore D. Weld has been delivering lectures here during the past week, upon the connected subjects of free discussion and the evils of slavery. As the interest manifested to hear him has been fast encreasing, the Young Men's Hall, in which he commenced, has been found insufficient so accommodate his audiences, and hereafter his lectures will be continued every evening in Dr. Bruce's church, in Seventh street, which has been generously offered for the occasion. The lectures of this week will relate to the remedies proposed for the evils of slavery, or rather the way in which slavery may be removed from the land. Mr. Weld is one of nature's orators—not a declaimer—but a logician of great tact and power. His inexhaustible fund of anecdote and general information—with the power of being intensely pathetic, enables him to give the greatest imaginable interest to the subject. His powers of teaching are of the first order—that is, his facility for generalizing broadly and regularly—for passing into profound abstractions, and bringing his wealth of ideas into beautiful light by clear, striking, familiar illustrations.—*Pitt. Times.*

Confession of Sin.—The Charleston Courier makes the following confession of sin! ! !

"We of the south have been hitherto *much to blame*, in allowing such notions to gain ground at the north as that we regard slavery as an evil, and are anxious to get rid of it. It is but lately that we have begun to make the northern people to understand, that we hold slavery to be neither a sin nor a curse, but an ordinanee of providence, and a PRACTICAL BLESSING."

If what thou hast received from God thou sharest to the poor, thou hast gained a blessing by thy hand; if what thou hast taken from the poor, thou givest to God, thou hast purchased a curse into the bargain. He that puts to pious uses what he hath got by impious usury, robs the spittle to raise a hospital; and the cry of the one will outplead the prayers of the other.—*Quarle.*

A Card.

The Executive Committee of the State Anti-Slavery Society, request the different Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the State, whether auxiliary or not, to communicate to them the names of their Societies, the names of their officers, the number of their members, and their Post-office address,—accompanied with such other information, as may be thought interesting to our anti-slavery friends generally.——Communications to be directed to

A. A. GUTHRIE, Cor. Sec. Ohio A. S. S.
Putnam, Muskingum Co., Ohio.

A Card.

Messrs. Thome, Streeter, Allen, Wattles, Lyman, and any others who may be engaged in lecturing in this State, on the subject of Slavery, are requested to communicate to the subscriber, where they may be addressed, from time to time. A. A. GUTHRIE, Cor. Sec. Ohio A. S. S.
Putnam, Muskingum Co., Ohio.

Poetry.

THE CAPTIVE'S APPEAL.

Is there no balm in *Cristian* land!
No kind physician there,
To heal the bleeding heart, and save
A brother from despair?

Is there no love in *Christian* heart
To pity grief like mine?
No tender, sympathetic part
Sweet mercy to enshrine?

Must vile oppression's reckless storm
Still beat upon my soul?
Will sun of freedom never dawn
To make my spirit whole?

Just God! behold the negro's woe,
The white man's sin forgive;
Open his heart thy love to know
To bid his brother live.

Eternal Nature, when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land;
When life sprang startling, at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and man the lord of all;
Say, was the lordly form inspired by thee
To wear eternal chains and bow the knee?
Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
Yoked with the brutes and fettered to the soil;
Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold?
No!—Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould;
She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge,
Nor, trembling, take the pittance and the scourge!
No homeless Lybian, on the stormy deep,
To call upon his country's name and weep!

CAMPBELL.

Foreign Anti-Slavery Intelligence.

PROCEEDINGS

At the public meeting to present the Emancipation Society's address to Mr. O'Connell.

Agreably to advertisement, a public meeting was held on Wednesday, at half past nine o'clock, in Hope Street Baptist Chapel, (Rev. Mr. Patterson's) to present the above address to Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P. Robert Graham, Esq. of Whitehall, President of the Society, in the Chair. In consequence of the careful arrangements of the committee, all overcrowding of the Chapel was completely prevented. About ten o'clock, the arrival of Mr. O'Connell was announced by the shouts of those assembled outside, and shortly afterwards he entered the Chapel, accompanied by a large number of the committee, and amid hearty cheers from all parts of the meeting.

The Chairman said, he would not detain them a single moment from the business in which they were to be engaged. He would merely mention that they had met for the purpose of presenting an address to Mr. O'Connell, prepared by the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and which would now be read by Mr. James Johnston. In the spirit and sentiments of that address, he was sure they would all most heartily concur.

Before reading the address, Mr. Johnston said, that, in compliance with the wishes of the Trustees of the Chapel, he had to request that no demonstration of feeling should be made by the audience, except by the hands. He then read the following address, to which Mr. O'Connell listened with the most marked attention:—

To Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P.

SIR:—We, the President, other Office-bearers, and members of committee, of "The Glasgow Emancipation Society," embrace the opportunity of your visit to this city, to express to you our admiration of the promptitude and energy with which you have always advocated the abolition of slavery.

This we feel ourselves called upon to do, as humble co-workers in the same great and good cause; and, whilst we congratulate you on the measure of success already obtained in the British colonies, we confidently rely upon your further co-operation, in not only acquiring for the negroes there, complete and entire emancipation, but also, in endeavoring to procure for the five millions still in slavery throughout the world, the possession of the same great blessing.

Regarding you, sir, as a friend of humanity, but especially, on this occasion, as the friend of the slave, we feel it to be at once gratifying to ourselves, and dutiful to you, to render you this mark of our esteem; and to compensate you, as far as our approbation goes, for the contumely and reproach which the opponents of universal liberty, have, with such profusion, showered upon you.

It appears somewhat remarkable, that the pro-slavery press of republican North America, and the British anti-liberal press should vie with each other, in bitter invective and low scurrulity directed against you on account of some strong expressions of just indignation, respecting republican America and her two and a half millions of slaves, of which you made use at a public meeting in Exeter Hall, in May last; and these liberty-enjoying, but slavery-inflicting republicans, have even gone so far as to make those expressions of yours, a pretext for riot and attack upon your conntrymen in the United States. The truth is too strong for them; they cannot bear the light of it. But let us hope that the more sober and enlightened portion of the American people, will, on feeling its powerful convictions, in place of attacking your countrymen, attack and destroy, root and branch, that system of bondage which is a curse to their country, and which, if they persist in endeavoring to uphold, will, there is reason to believe, ere long destroy the republic itself.

Would to God that the people of these States would act on that principle of the magnanimous Bolivar, (referred to by you ten years ago, in a speech at a general meeting of the London Anti-Slavery Society) who, after liberating his own slaves, in addressing the assembled Senators of his government, said, "I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that clime, or color, or creed, should make any distinction in yonr republic."

In conclusion, sir—having entire confidence that, as you have so long and so nobly distinguished yourself in the anti-slavery cause, you will please to persevere in it with us, while slavery exists in any quarter of the globe, we beg leave to be permitted to enrol you as an honorary member of "The Glasgow Emancipation Society," which has for its object, "the abolition of slavery throughout the world." This society has had in America, for the last twelve months, as its agent, the eloquent and excellent George Thompson, Esq., (whom we believe you know) advocating the immediate abolition of slavery in the United States; part of whose journal we take the liberty to hand you, with the first annual report of our society: and whilst we acknowledge that the abolition of colonial slavery has been greatly aided by your fellow-countrymen, yet not having heard of their further efforts, we would respectfully and earnestly request you, to incite them to unite with us in the cause of universal abolition; and that you will tell them, as you declared you would, at the conclusion of your speech at Exeter Hall, in April, 1831—"that they ought not to be laggards in the race of humantiy"—which with your example before them, we feel assured they will not.

This, sir, we need not tell you, is not the cause of any political or religious party—it embraces among its friends, men of all parties, and of all creeds—it is the cause of every man who loves his fellow-man as himself—hence it is a cause which has the approbation of God; through whose blessings it will, we trust, speedily become triumphant.

Signed in the name, and by appointment of the committee,

ROBERT GRAHAM, Pres't.

Glasgow, 23d September, 1835.

MR. O'CONNELL then ascended a small platform which had been placed for his accommodation in front of the pulpit, and was received with enthusiastic cheering. The address, he said, contained many topics, approved by his judgment, and dear to his heart. (Cheers.) It contained much spirit-stirring excitement upon which he liked to dwell. (Renewed cheers.) But perhaps, after all, that which he liked best was the species of motive which it presented for gratitude—gratitude, not only on account of his individual self, but gratitude savoring of that which had been defined political—a strong sense of future favors. (Cheers.) And though that definition might be said to characterise only the gratitude of selfish man, yet it suited his purpose on this occasion, to appropriate it to himself, because the sentiments which the address contained conveyed an assurance to his mind, that the members of this society would continue their exertions in the cause of emancipation. Yes, the most ardent aspirations of his after life, would be to diffuse over the whole globe, a feeling in favor of the suffering negro; and if there was anything more than another which he would wish impressed on the minds of those present, it was, that they should not suffer their good wishes to slumber, but persevere in the glorious cause in which they had already so pre-eminently distinguished themselves. And why not persevere? continued Mr. O'Connell. Have you done with the work? No. Is it completed? No. You have yet to address yourselves to the emancipation of five millions of slaves; and while a single one of these remains in bondage, the feelings of humanity, the spirit of Christian charity, forbids sinking into torpor. The work was certainly well begun. They had obtained the half of that for which they were striving, but it was what was called in Ireland the smallest half; (laughter and cheers) the children's half—the biggest one—remained behind. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) The proverbial carelessness of his own countrymen might be satisfied with this; John Bull, more solid, would demand more; while Scotsmen, beaming with intelligence, must think that work but spoiled, which remained only half done. He would require, however, to descend to a lower fraction; not even a fourth had been gained. Nay, in many respects, their condition had been rendered worse, by the change. The name of slave had, no doubt been abolished, but that of apprentice had been introduced in its stead. And what was apprenticeship? They all knew well what it was here; but what was it there? An old woman of seventy, was told that she was no longer a slave, but an apprentice; and what a delightful consolation to the toothless black old lady to receive such information! (Great laughter.) They all knew his friend Stanley, (laughter) who had put his name on the work without recognising the labors of its friends—(and how many years had the society of Friends, and other sects, not dependent on an endowment from government, in all sincerity and purity of heart, though long without hope, labored anxiously in the cause)—they knew that Stanley thought the apprenticeship so good as to propose extending it to a period of twelve years; so that the old woman of seventy would have had the gratifying prospect of being made entirely free at the joyous and merry age of eighty-two. (Laughter.) The apprenticeship was good so far; it had taken away the lash from the unfeeling hand of the slave-owner—that lash which had been so often employed in the punishment of virtue, at the mandate of foul and infernal passion, with a ferocious cruelty which would have been too bad for the greatest of vices. (Loud and continued cheering.) But while the lash had been taken from the hand of the master, it had been only to transfer it into that of the stipendiary magistrate. And they ought to remember that the poor slave had no dinner, no supper, no rich treat, to give that magistrate, while the rich planter had all these at his command. Nor did he calumniate the magistrates in speaking thus. There might be many good men among them; but they were men, and wealth might be expected to exercise its corrupting influence over them. Mr. O'Connell then proceeded to impress upon the meeting, the necessity of urging upon the legislature the abolition of the apprenticeship. Their exertions, he said, should not be confined to Glasgow alone; the voice of Scotland should be heard next session of Parliament, in a tone, loud, strong, and even menacious if they would. This also required to be done quickly. They would soon be told that apprenticeship was nearly at an end. But, Heaven help the poor negro—slavery and chains count by hours, and reckon by minutes. But that champion whose talents and energies had been devoted to this glorious cause, who had followed in the footsteps of the immortal Wilberforce—Fowell Buxton—had pledged himself to bring in a bill next session of Parliament, for the immediate abolition of negro apprenticeship in the British colonies. There would then, no doubt, be some talk of remuneration to the slave proprietor. He could never bear the name proprietor, as applied to those who hold human beings in bondage. We might use the word property in relation to sheep, or cows, or horses, or pigs. But as soon as he would claim property in his fellow man, he would assent to the pig's claiming property in him. Mr. Buxton, he repeated, was pledged to bring in a bill; and the question was,—would he succeed? Of his success, he had no doubt; were he backed, as he ought to be, by the public choice as before. (Cheers.) And let no man say that his assistance would be useless: there was no one but might do something—he could at least put his name to a petition, and if all did so, twelve million of names would be presented to Parliament, and that was on the supposition that only males should sign. But he saw nothing to prevent the ladies from lending their aid. The most powerful petition that had ever been presented to Parliament in favor of negro emancipation, was one to which the signatures of thirty-five thousand ladies were attached. Let all then unite in support of Mr. Buxton's motion, and surely they had a reasonable prospect of success. They had already paid twenty millions; and why not receive full value in return? He would insist on receiving the full value; not indeed, the very "pound of flesh," but the entire souls and bodies of those whom they had ransomed. Convinced that the inhuman trafficers in slaves had long received full value for the money they had laid out, he had opposed the grant of twenty millions. He considered that, if given at all, it should have been given to the slaves, as they had been the sufferers. He had been out voted. But since it was so, he would not now be content with any instalment which the slave owners might offer. He would not even take 19*s.* 6*d.* in the pound. (Laughter.) He must have the whole. Nothing less than the *sovereign* remedy would satisfy him. (Great cheering and laughter.) Mr. O'Connell then congratulated the friends of freedom on the unity of sentiment that bound them together in the holy cause in which they were engaged. Whatever difference of religious belief, continued he, might exist amonst them, these were left to that God who alone could determine which of them was right. But all would agree with him, that of "these three things, faith, hope, and charity, the greatest was charity." [Cheers.]

Animated by that principle, they had joined their exertions, and had been already so far successful. He trusted that their phalanx would become yet more close and serried, as they pressed forward in the struggle, and that they would still advance till they secured the full fruits of their victory in unqualified emancipation. (Cheers.) And when this shall have been accomplished, let them come with another broadside on the United States of North America. (Laughter.) He had, himself, given the Americans two or three good hard thumps; for which they had paid him wages in abuse and scurrility.* He was satisfied that they had done so. He was accustomed to receive such wages for his labors. He had never done good but he was vilified for his pains; and he felt that he could not sleep soundly were such opponents to cease abusing him. [Cheers.] He would continue to earn such wages. [Cheers.] By the blessing of God he would yet trample on the serpent of slaveholding cupidity, and triumph over the hiss of the foul reptile, which marked its agony and excited his contempt. The Americans, in their conduct towards the slaves, were traitors to the cause of human liberty, foul detractors of the democratic principle, which he had cherished throughout his political life, and blasphemers of that great and sacred name which they pretended to recognise. For, in their solemn league and covenant, the Declaration of American Independence, they declared that all men [he used their own words] have certain "inalienable rights;"—these they defined to be—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To maintain these, they pledged themselves with all the solemnity of an oath, in the presence of Almighty God. That aid which they had invoked from heaven, had been awarded to them, but they had violated their awfully solemn compact with the Deity, and set at nought every principle which they profsssed to hold sacred, by keeping two and a half millions of their fellow-men in bondage. In reprobation of that disgraceful conduct, his humble voice had been heard across the wide waves of the Atlantic. Like the thunder storm in its strength, it had careered against the breeze, armed with the lightning of Christian truth. [Great cheering.] And let them seek to repress it as they may—let them murder and assassinate in the true spirit of Lynch's law—the storm would wax louder and louder around them, till the claims of justice became too strong to be withstood, and the black man would stand up too big for his chains. It seemed, indeed—he hoped what he was about to say was not profanation—as if the curse of the Almighty had already overtaken them.

For the first time in their political history, disgraceful tumult and anarchy had been witnessed in their cities. Blood had been shed without the sanction of law, and even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled—but he was here in danger of becoming political. [Cries of No, no—go on, and cheers.] Well then, even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled to taunt the Americans with gross inconsistency, and lawless proceedings. He differed from Sir Sobert Peel on many points. Every body knew that. [Renewed laughter.] It was no doubt presumption in him to differ from so great a man; but yet such was the fact. [Laughter.] On one point however, he fully agreed with him. Let the proud Americans learn that all parties in this country unite in condemnation of their present conduct; and let them also learn that the worst of all aristocracies is that which prevails in America—an aristocracy which had been aptly denominated that of the human skin. The most insufferable pride was that shown by such an aristocracy. And yet he must confess that he could not understand such pride. He could understand why a man should plume himself on the success of his ancestors, in plundering the people some centuries ago. He could understand the pride arising from immense landed possessions. He could even understand the pride of wealth, the fruit of honest and careful industry. But when he thought of the color of the skin making men aristocratic, he felt his astonishment to vie with his contempt. Many a white skin covered a black heart; yet an aristocrat of the skin was the proudest of the proud. Republicans were proverbially proud, and therefore be delighted to taunt the Americans with the superlative meanness, as well as injustice, of their assumed airs of superiority over their black fellow-citizens. [Cheers.] He would continue to hurl his taunts across the Atlantic. These would ascend the Mississippi, they would ascend the Missouri, and be heard along the banks of the Ohio and the Monongahala, till the black man would leap delighted to express his gratitude to those who had effected his emancipation. [Cheers.] And, Oh—but perhaps it was his pride that dictated the hope—that some black O'Connell might arise among his fellow slaves—[tremendous cheers]—who would cry, Agitate, agitate, agitate, [renewed cheering,] till the two millions and a half of his fellow-sufferers learned the secret of their strength—learned that they were two millions and a half. [Enthusiastic cheers.] If there was one thing which more than another could excite his hatred, it was the laws which the Americans had framed to prevent the instruction of their slaves. To teach a slave to read was made a capital offence. [Shame.] To be seen in company with a negro who could write, was visited with the imprisonment, [shame] and to teach a slave the principles of freedom was punished with death. Were these human laws? it might be asked. Were they not laws made by wolves of the forest? No, they were made by a congregation of two-legged wolves—American wolves—monsters in human shape, who boast of their liberty and of their humanity, while they carry the hearts of tigers within them. [Cheers.] With regard to the attacks which had been made upon his countrymen by such men, he rejoiced at them. [Cheers.] These proved to him that the sufferings to which they had been subjected in the land of their birth, had not been lost upon them, but that their kindly affections had been nurtured into strength, and that they had ranged themselves on the side of the oppressed slave. [Cheers.] He was not afraid of his countrymen being crushed; there were a good many of them, and a man who should try to take off the head of one of them, would find he had something to do before it would leave Paddy's shoulders. [Laughter.] He had once heard a story of a man who called himself a "lord of creation." Proud of the title, and indulging in high notions of the consequence he imagined it to confer, he determined as an exercise of his authority to shear a wolf. "I am a 'lord of creation,'" said he, "and therefore I have a right to shear a wolf." [Laughter.] His lordship accordingly went out to the forest with that intent. [Renewed laughter.] And how did he return? Why, of course, a skeleton. Nothing more was left of this "lord of creation," than what the wolf took not the pains to devour. [Great laughter.] Now he did not think that the Irish would altogether devour those who might attack them; but the Americans might rest assured that they would not submit to be shorn. Well, if ever a moment of leisure were granted him—and this was what he had scarcely ever enjoyed yet—idleness would in fact literally kill him—but if ever he found so much leisure at his command, as to be able to write to his countrymen in America, he would conjure them to laugh the republican slave-owners to scorn. He would tell them, whenever they met an atrabilious American to call out to him, Negro. [Laughter.] What was sauce for the goose, was sauce for the gander. If the black of the African is sufficient to mark him for a slave, his yellow has no right to claim an exception. But, in sober sadness, he would manifest his gratitude for the compliment which had been paid him, by giving the society a wholesome advice. It was, first, to put an end to the slavery of the apprentices in the West India colonies, and then, to turn to the slavery of the United States. Did they need a stimulant? Let them consider the state of the negro, condemned to perpetual ignorance—an ignorance infinitely worsethan slavery—an ignorance of the light of Christain truth. [Cheers.] Look at the negro father returning to his family from his unrequited toil. He views his children as they cling around him, and shudders at the thought that they must inherit his misery. The mother looks upon the child that she has borne, and knows that she is but rearing the slave of another. Instead of a blessing she feels that in each child she has been visited with a curse. He conjured every one whom he now addressed not to consider his political sentiments, or allow them to interfere with the sacred duty of joining in aid of the oppressed. Let no one, said Mr. O'Connell, go from this meeting, till he has determined to join the Emancipation Society. [Loud cheering.] Let all who love freedom, all who love religion, all who attach importance to the welfare of the human soul, unite in their exertions to give the negro liberty, to give him an opportunity of receiving the great and universally acknowledged truths of the gospel, and slavery will be at an end forever.

On resuming his seat, Mr. O'Connell was greeted with the most rapturous applause which was renewed and re-renewed for several minutes. The cheering having at last subsided,

Mr. JOHNSTON said he was happy that he could now address Mr. O'Connell as a member of their committee, and he wished to transact a little business with him in that capacity. They had heard with pleasure that Mr. Buxton was to move, next session, for a total abolition of the accursed apprenticeship, system. But some apprehensions were entertained that further compensation would be demanded, and that possibly Mr. Buxton in his zeal and anxiety for the complete emancipation of the negro, might be induced to accede to such accommodation. Now the committee had to express a hope that were such a proposal made, Mr. O'Connell would divide the house upon it.

Mr. O'CONNELL—Even though I should stand alone, I will do so. [Great cheering.] I may add, however, that I have no apprehension of any such attempt—it would be too great a robbery of the laboring population of this country.

The CHAIRMAN then said, I heartily concur in rendering due honors to Mr Buxton and his coadjutors. But we ought never to forget the man who in this great and good cause, labored more abundantly than they all—Thomas Clarkson. It was by his indefatigable exertions, attended with the sacrifice of his time, his health and strength, and all his worldly prospects, that the whole dark arcana of the system most audaciously called a trade—"the Slave trade," but which was in fact, a complete system of piracy and murder, were fully laid open and judicially proved before the British Parliament, and this so called trade was then designated by the legislature of Great Britain to be piracy and subjected to the punishment of death. It was by the efforts of Thomas Clarkson, that Mr. Wilberforce was enabled to produce complete proofs before Parliament, of the fraud, violence and bloodshed, with which the system was commenced in Africa, and was maintained in America. The measure of justice and relief, therefore, which has now been granted, by Parliament to the injured slaves in the British colonies, ought, in justice, to be attributed, primarily, to Thomas Clarkson.—*Emancipator.*

* Witness the following which we happen at this moment to see in the Kentucky Gazette:—*Ed. Eman.*

"The grand jury of Montgomery County, Alabama, have presented Daniel O'Connell, the great Irish orator, for 'impertinent and unauthorised intermeddling' with the rights of slaveholders in America:—and 'Arthur Tappan, William Lloyd Garrison, James G. Birney, and Geo. Thompson, the British emissary, and all their associates, as criminal offenders against the peace and dignity of the State of Alabama.'"

Slave-Holder's Department.

THE LEGISLATURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE SLAVE QUESTION.

The following is the report of the joint committee of federal relations, in the Legislature of South Carolina, on "so much of the governor's message as relates to the institution of domestic slavery." The committee state, that they have given to the subject deep and anxious consideration, and affirm, "painful as it may be, it is impossible to disguise the fact, that this is a condition of things which cannot in the long run, be *permitted* to exist." They proceed:—*Ed. Phil.*

Every wise instinct of self-preservation forbids it. Let it be admitted that the three millions of free white inhabitants in the slaveholding States are amply competent to hold in secure and pacific subjection the two millions of slaves, which by the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, are placed under our dominion. Let it be admitted that, by reason of an efficient police and judicious internal legislation, we may render abortive the designs of the fanatic and incendiary within our own limits, and that the torrent of pamphlets and tracts which the abolition presses of the north are pouring forth with an inexhaustible copiousness, is arrested the moment it reaches our frontier. Are we to wait until our enemies have built up by the grossest misrepresentations and falsehoods, a body of public opinion against us, which it would be almost impossible to resist, without separating ourselves from the social system of the rest of the world? Or are we to sit down content, because from our own vigilance and courage, the torch of the incendiary and the dagger of the midnight assassin may never be applied? This is impossible. No people can live in a state of perpetual excitement and apprehension, although real danger may be long deferred. Such a condition of the public mind, is destructive of all social happines, and consequently must prove essentially injurious to the prosperity of a community that has the weakness to suffer under a perpetual panic. This would be true, if the causes of this excitement proceeded from the external hostility of a foreign nation. But how infinitely interesting and momentous the consideration becomes, when they flow from the acts and doings of citizens of States, with whom we are not only in amity, but to whom we are bound by the strongest bonds of a common union, which was framed to promote the happiness, peace, security, and protection of all.

We have, therefore, a claim on the governments of the non-slaveholding States, not only moral and social, but of indispensable constitutional obligation, that *this nuisance shall be abated.* They not only owe it to us, but they owe it to themselves, to that Union at whose shrine they have so often offered up the highest pledges by which man can plight his temporal faith.

Your committee would be inclined to recommend to this Legislature to make an explicit demand on the non-slaveholding States, for the passage of penal laws by their Legislatures, providing for the punishment of incendiaries within their limits, who are engaged in an atrocious conspiracy against our right of property and life. But a cordial confidence, a fraternal feeling, and the comity which belongs to our social and political relations, for one moment to doubt, that every effort will be made by the States to whom the appeal is referable, to meet not only our just expectations on this subject, but every emergency which belongs to this crisis of public peril. Indeed, when we remember the strong demonstrations of public opinion, which were presented at various gratifying public meetings which were held during the last summer through the non-slaveholding States, denouncing, as anti-social, and unconstitutional, the proceedings of the fanatics and incendiaries; when we remember, too, the avowal universally made by the public press in those States, that a vast and overwhelming majority of their people viewed such proceedings with horror and detestation, we cannot but believe, that every rational expectation which the slaveholding States can cherish on this vital question, will be cheerfnlly met and responded to by those on whom we have such inviolable claims.

The report concludes with the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:—

1. Resolved, That the formation of the abolition societies, and the acts and doings of certain fanatics, calling themselves abolitionists, in the non-slaveholding States of this confederacy, are in direct violation of the compact of union, dissocial and incendiary in the extreme.

2. Resolved, That no State having a just regard for their own peace and security, can acquiesce in a state of things by which such conspiracies are engendered within the limits of a friendly State, united to her by the bonds of a common league of political associations, without either surrendering or compromitting her most essential rights.

3. Resolved, That the Legislature of South Carolina, having every confidence in the justice and friendship of the non-slaveholding States, announces to her co-States her confident expectation, and she earnestly requests that the governments of these States will promptly and effectually suppress all those associations within their respective limits, purporting to be abolition societies, and that they will make it highly penal to print, publish and distribute newspapers, pamphlets, tracts, and pictorial representations, calculated and having an obvious tendency to excite the slaves of the slave States to insurrection and revolt.

4. Resolved, That regarding the domestic slavery of the southern States as a subject exclusively within the control of each of the said States, we shall consider every interference, by any other State, or the General Government, as a direct and unlawful interference, to be resisted at once, and under every possible circumstance.

5. Resolved, In order that a salutary negative may be put upon the mischievous and unfounded assumption of some of the abolitionists—the non-slaveholding States are requested to disclaim, by legislative declaration, all right, either on the part of themselves or the government of the United States, to interfere, in any manner, with domestic slavery, either in the States or Territories where it now exists.

6. Resolved, That we should consider the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, as a violation of the rights of the citizens, of that District, derived from the implied conditions on which that territory was ceded to the General Government, and as an usurpation to be at once resisted, as nothing more than the commencement of a scheme of much more extensive and flagrant injustice.

7. Resolved, That the Legislature of South Carolina, regards with decided approbation, the measures of security adopted by the Post-Office Department of the United States, in relation to the transmission of incendiary tracts. But if this essential and protective policy, be counteracted by Congress, and the United States mail becomes a vehicle for the transmission of the mischievous documents, with which it was recently freghted, we, in this contingency, expect that the Chief Magistrate of our State, will forthwith call the Legislature together that timely measures may be taken to prevent its traversing our territory.

8. Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of this report and resolutions to the Executive of the several States, that they may be laid before their respective legislatures.

Northern Spirit.

MR. WELD'S ADDRESS,

At the Meeting of the Western Reserve (Ohio) Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. T. D. Weld, upon seconding the resoluton, remarked, that the brother who had just taken his seat, was not under an illusion, when he said he saw a cloud gathering over the south. There was a cloud gathering there. He saw it, and any body with open eyes, might see it. Behold, said he, its dark and threatening aspect, and hear its thunder. And was there any thing that could cause it to break away from the face of the sky? Nothing! yes, there was one thing, and but one, which like a magic wand would conduct its thunders harmlessly aside, and that was immediate emancipation.

For fifty years, England tried to abolish slavery in some other way; but all without effect. Then she began to act opon the principle of immediate emancipation, and the Bermudas showed the result. In six weeks, the work was accomplished. While the experiment was making, the cry was, that the land would run blood, but the six weeks passed away, and no blood was flowing.

His brother had spoken of the longings of the slave for liberty. He had spent a month in his father's family when that brother was at home, and he would bear his testimony, that after travelling much in the slave States, nowhere had he seen slaves receive kinder treatment than in the family of the Rev. Doct. Allan, of Huntsville. And if such were the longings of the slaves where they were so kindly treated, such their quenchless desires after liberty, such their throes of agony under the privation of it, such the thick night of despair which settled down upon them, surrounded as they were by so many mitigating circumstances, what must be the wretchedness of the tens of thousands, to whom no tender mercies are meeted out! Their drivers were almost uniformly a most degraded class of men. William Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, had denominated them "the last and the lowest of the human race." Such was the character of the men in whose power were three-fourths of all the slaves in the United States. Who that would make their case his own, rather than suffer what they suffer, would not pray God to close his eyes in death?

Here Mr. Weld said he would stop, as the audience had already been detained to a late hour, but a wish was expressed from various parts of the house, that he wonld go on. And taking a little book from his pocket, he said he would read them the longings of a slave after liberty, written down by himself, or rather dictated, for he could not write, and written down by another. He was the property of Mr. James Horton, of Chatham Co., North Carolina. And it should be observed that he had nothing of positive inflictions as the cause of his wretchedness, nothing but that he was treated with the utmot kindness.

"Come melting pity from afar,
And break this vast enormous bar
Betwen a wretch and thee;
Purchase a few short days of time,
And bid a vassal soar sublime,
On wings of liberty.
*　*　*　*　*
Alas! and am I born for this,
To wear this slavish chain?
Deprived of all created bliss,
Thro' hardships, toil and pain,
How long have I in bondage lain,
And languished to be free!
Alas! and must I still complain—
Deprived of liberty!
Oh Heaven! and is there no relief
This side the silent grave—
To soothe the pain—to quell the grief
And anguish of a slave!
Come liberty, thou cheerful sound,
Roll thro' my ravished ears!
Come, let my grief in joys be drowned,
And drive away my fears.
Say to the foul oppression, cease,
Ye tyrants rage no more,
And let the joyful trump of peace,
Now bid the vassal soar.
*　*　*　*　*
Am I sadly cast aside,
On misfortune's rugged tide?
Will the world my pains deride,
Forever?
Must I dwell in slavery's night,
And all pleasure take its flight,
Far beyond my feeble sight,
Forever?
Worst of all must hope grow dim,
And withhold her cheering beam!
Rather let me sleep and dream,
Forever!
Something still my heart surveys,
Groping thro' this dreary maze;
Is it hope? then burn and blaze,
Forever!
Leave me not a wretch confined,
Altogether lame and blind—
Unto gross despair consigned,
Forever!
Heaven, in whom I can confide,
Canst thou not for all provide?
Condescend to be my guide,
Forever!
And when this transient life shall end,
Oh, may some kind, eternal friend
Bid me from servitude ascend,
Forever!"

This was a slave, sir, said he, with thrilling emphasis.

He here introduced an anecdote, which exhibited in a striking light, the value which the slave sets upon the liberty of which he is deprived. A vessel having on board the wives and children, and some other connexions of thirty or forty planters, was wrecked between St. Kitts and Nevis. The husbands and fathers gathered upon the shore, and saw the vessel driving before the storm, at the mercy of the waves, until by and by, it struck upon a rock. The next moment they expected it to go to pieces, and to see the waves close upon the dear objects of their solicitude. They got boats in readiness to go to their relief, but not a soul of them had the fortitude to volunteer to man them. Shrinking back themselves, they called upon the slaves to man the boats, but they refused. They then applied the lash, and the poor creatures lay down and groaned, and would have suffered themselves to have been cut with whips until they had given up the ghost, before they would have obeyed. At last one of the planters mounted a stump, and swinging his hat, cried out, "*Liberty! liberty!*" At the sound of that word, every slave started. He then proclaimed liberty for life, to every one who would man the boats. It was no sooner said than done. Three boats were manned at once. One of them had scarcely gotten from the shore, when it was met by a terrible wave, and dashed upon a rock, and all on board perished. Another, a little further out, was engulfed in the waves, and every soul was lost. The third one was hard by its side when it went down, and yet, the brave fellows whe manned it, with countenances fixed, steered straight for the vessel, bowing upon their oars as though nothing had happened to their comrades.